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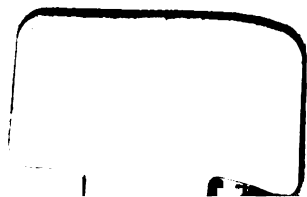
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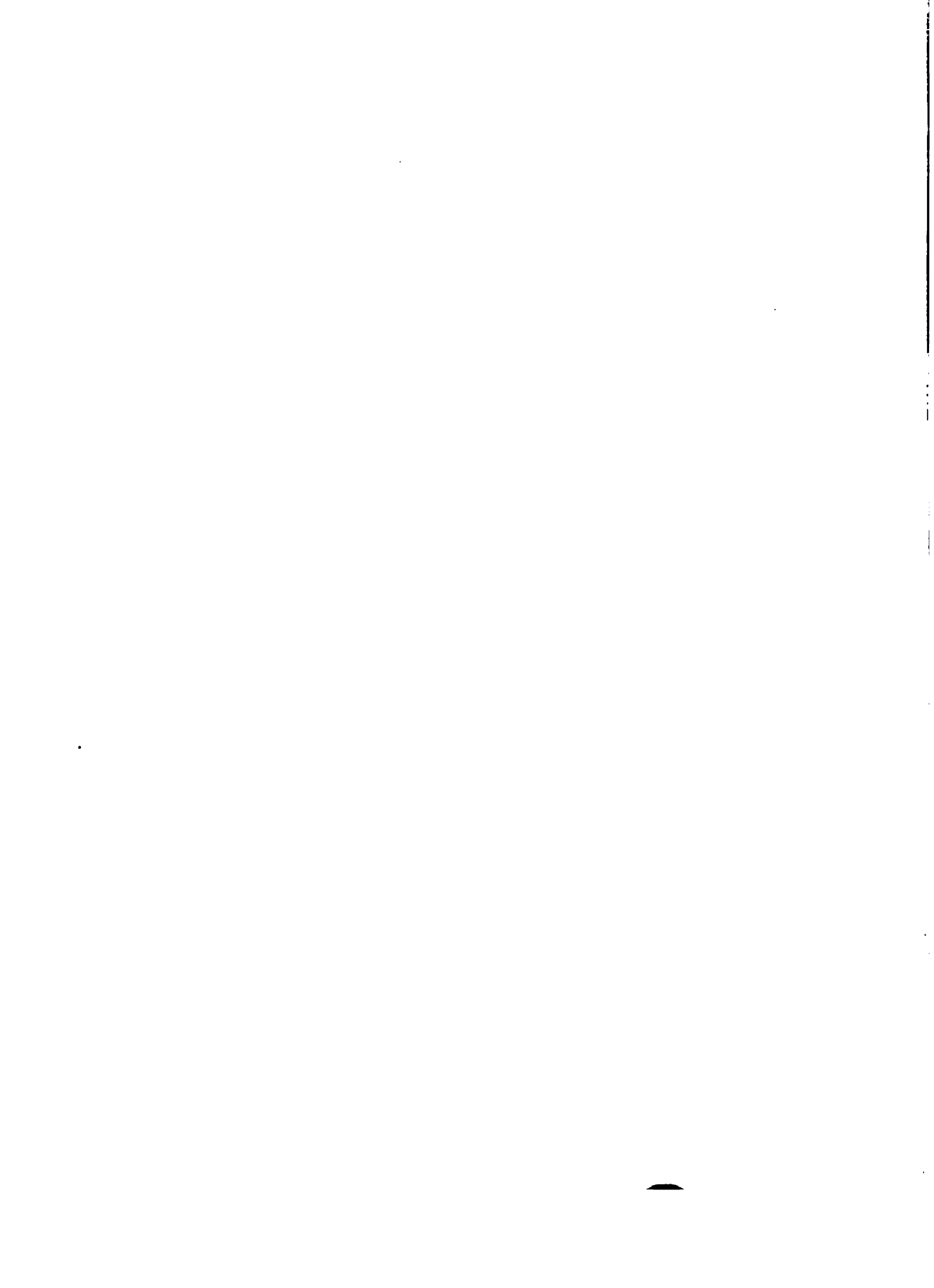


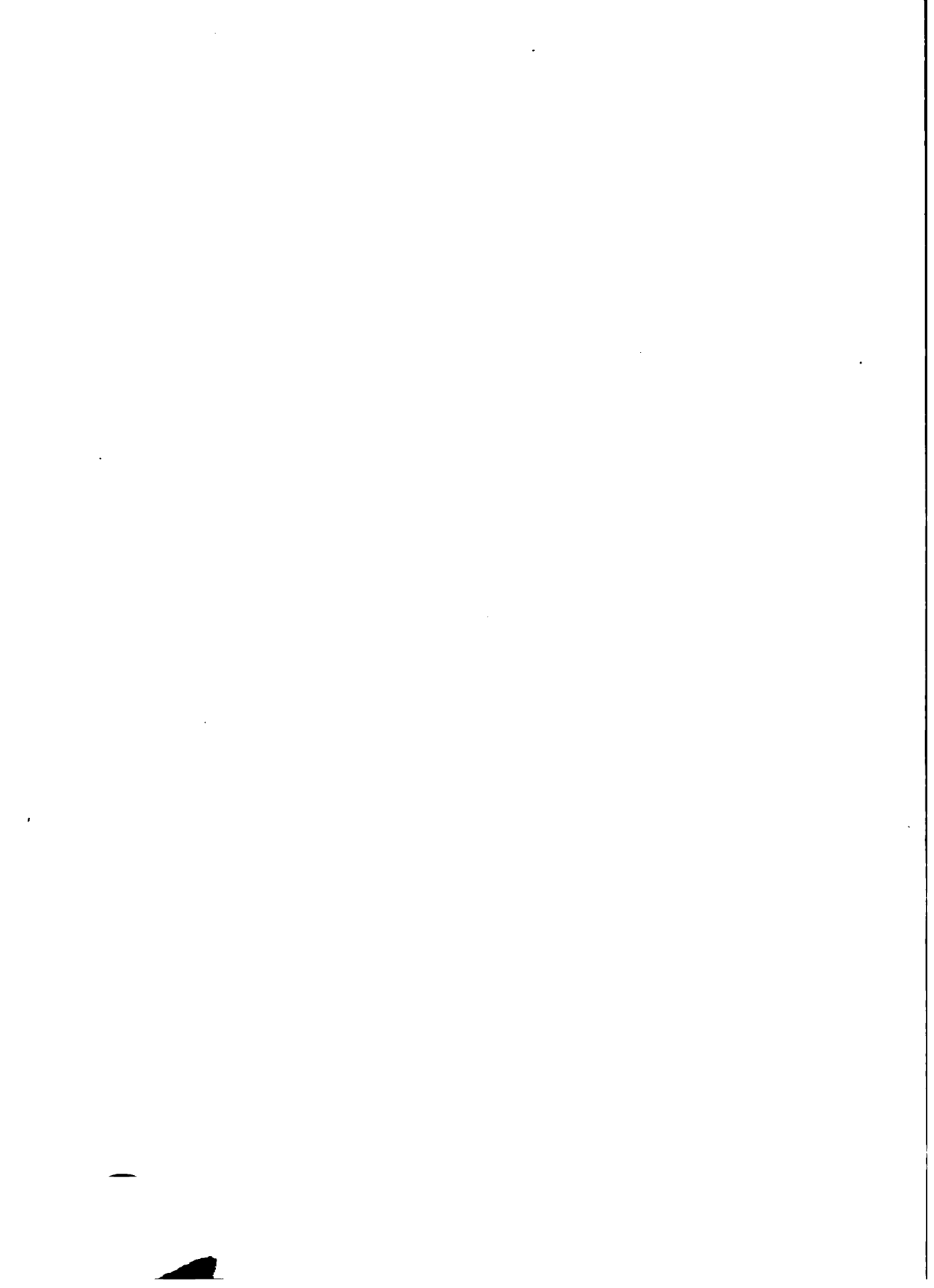
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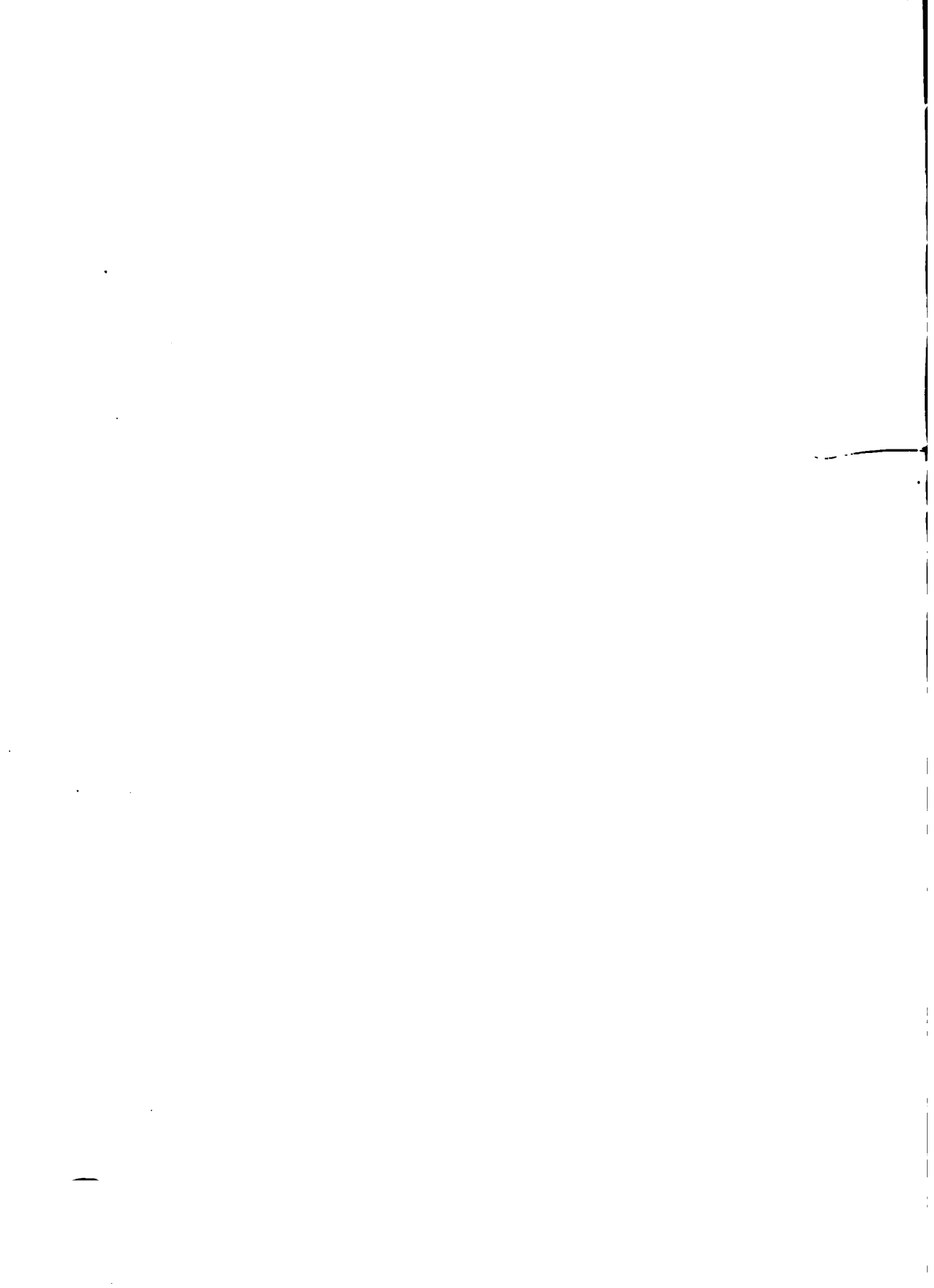




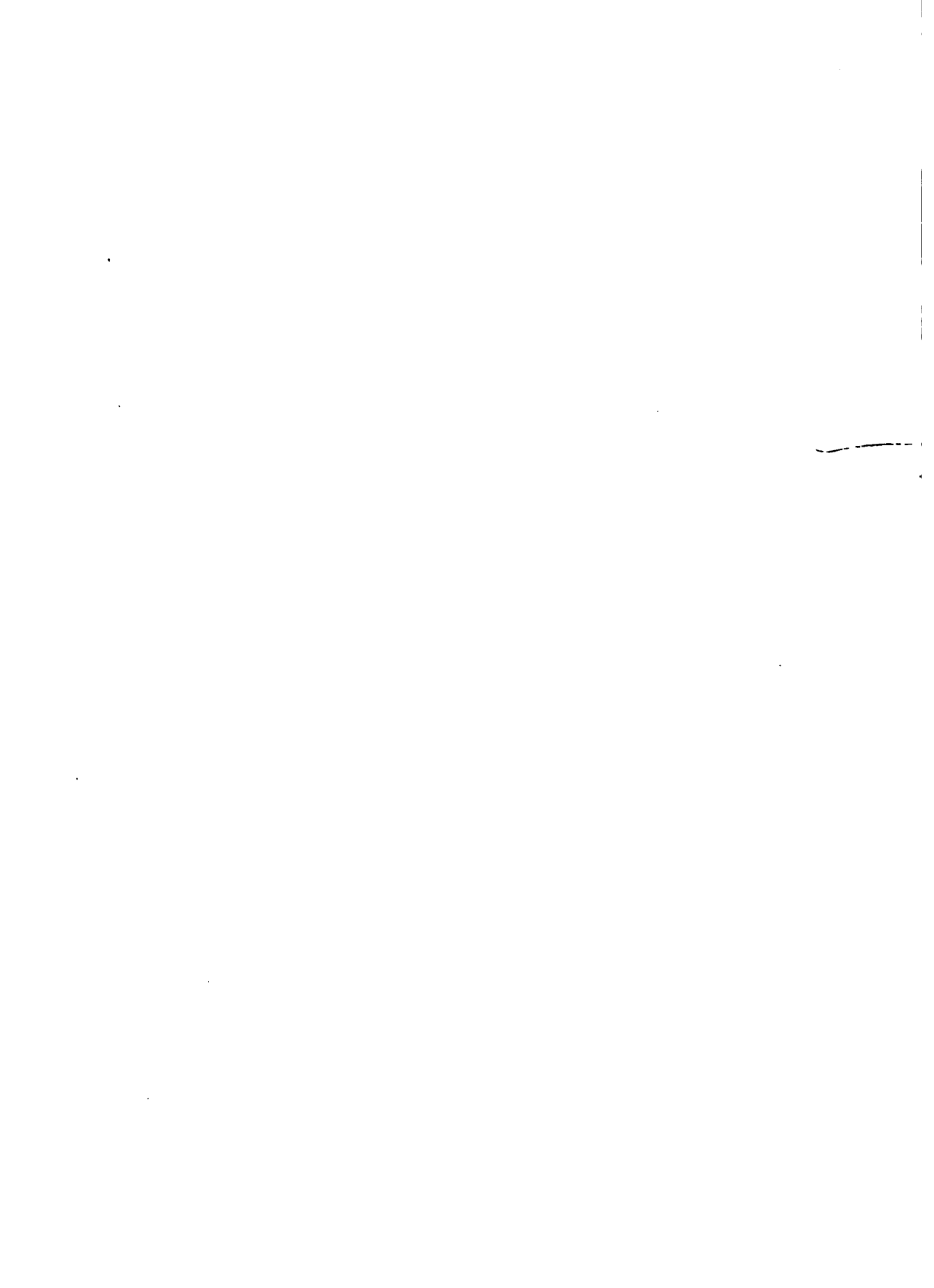


THE PARLIAMENT HOUSE,  
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I.



VIEW OF THE PARLIAMENT HOUSE, DUBLIN, 1797.

AN ACCOUNT  
OF  
THE PARLIAMENT HOUSE, DUBLIN,

10 WITH NOTICES OF PARLIAMENTS HELD THERE,

1661-1800.

BY  
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"HISTORY OF THE IRISH CONFEDERATION AND WAR IN IRELAND," ETC.

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### ADVERTISEMENT.

This publication is a new edition of a section of the author's "History of the City of Dublin," which has long been out of print.

Information from sources previously inaccessible has been embodied in this edition. Portraits and views from authentic originals have also been added.

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## THE PARLIAMENT HOUSE, DUBLIN.

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### CAREY'S HOSPITAL.—CHICHESTER HOUSE.—THE PARLIAMENT HOUSE.

ON part of a garden in the eastern suburbs of Dublin, styled "Hoggen Green," a large edifice, intended for a hospital, was erected by Sir George Carey, or Cary, towards the close of the sixteenth century, at the cost of above four thousand pounds. Carey was appointed Vice-Treasurer and Treasurer-at-War, in Ireland, by Queen Elizabeth, in 1598-9. On the departure of Robert, Earl of Essex, from Ireland, in September, 1599, Carey became a lord justice, and in 1603 he was appointed Lord Deputy, in which office he continued till October, 1604. During Michaelmas, 1605, and the two succeeding terms, the Courts of Law were held in "Carey's Hospital." The purchase of the Hospital was contemplated in 1606 by the Government, but, the officials being unwilling to pay four thousand pounds, the sum demanded for the building, Carey let it to his successor in the Vice-Treasurership, Sir Thomas Ridgeway, first Earl of Londonderry. The Hospital, described at this time as "a large mansion, with a gatehouse, a garden, and plantations," was subsequently transferred to Sir Arthur Basset, from whom it passed to Sir Arthur Chichester, acquiring from him the name of "Chichester House."

Chichester, a native of Devonshire, had in early life fled from England to escape punishment for having plundered one of Queen Elizabeth's purveyors. In France he distinguished himself as a soldier under Henri IV., from whom he received knighthood. Chichester was subsequently pardoned by Queen Elizabeth, and employed by her in Ireland, where his services against the Irish procured him the command of the forces stationed in Ulster. In 1604 he was appointed Lord Deputy, and sent the first English judges of assize into Connacht; while his exertions in carrying out the Plantation of Ulster were rewarded by large grants of land, taken from the old proprietors, in that province, together with the title of Baron of Belfast, in 1612. Chichester, while in Dublin, resided in "his own house at Hoggen Green," during his tenure of the Deputyship of Ireland from 1604 to 1615. The Exchequer records mention that in the latter year Richard Brown was sworn Mayor of Dublin, on the Red Book of the Exchequer, before the Lord Deputy and Council, at "Chichester House," outside the walls of the city.

Chichester, after his removal from the Government in 1615, was created Lord High Treasurer of Ireland; and in 1622 acted as the Ambassador from James I. to the Palatinate in Germany. He died without issue, in 1624, and his estates passed to his brother, Sir Edward Chichester, in whose favour the Peerage was revived, with the additional title of Viscount Chichester, of Carrickfergus.

From an unpublished memorandum roll of the Court of Exchequer of the third year of Charles I., we learn that, at his decease, Sir Arthur Chichester, among other debts, owed to the Crown a sum of £10,000. This his brother discharged by sale of a portion of his estates, in the execution of which he had sold to

Sir Samuel Smith "an absolute estate in fee-simple of the house called 'Carye's Hospital,' and more lately called Chichester House, and other the premises thereunto belonging," to him and his heirs for ever, for a valuable sum of money. Chichester, added the record, "being willing to part with the said house rather than with any other part of his estate, in regard it lay most remote from any part of his dwelling." It also appeared that the "said house was much decayed and ruinous, and still decaying," by reason that Chichester "could not make his abode there," neither could he, from the opposition of the feoffees, "set the same for a valuable rent." Sir Samuel Smith having obtained possession, "bestowed much money and cost in building and repairing the house, to his great charge and expense," but on his "agreeing and contracting with others to pass unto them a lease of the greatest part of the house," the feoffees, desirous of obtaining it themselves, refused to ratify the agreement, to which, however, they were compelled to assent by a decree given "at the King's Courts, Dublin," June 12, 1627.

Chichester House was subsequently tenanted by Sir John Borlase, a veteran soldier, who, after having distinguished himself in the wars in the Netherlands, was in 1634 appointed Master-General of the Ordnance in Ireland, and nominated in 1640 Lord Justice, in conjunction with Sir William Parsons.

At Chichester House, on the night of the 22nd of October, 1641, Borlase and his colleague, Parsons, received from the inebriated Owen O'Connolly information relative to an attempt intended to be made on the next day to seize Dublin Castle. They immediately summoned the Privy Council, with the two members of which who attended, they sat here till the following morning in consultation. O'Connolly, at his own request, was provided with a bed, "the effects of the drink being still upon him." He was sub-

sequently examined upon oath. Doubts have been cast upon the authenticity of the document given to the public as his deposition, on account of its not being attested by the signature of Justice Borlase, in whose residence it was taken. Hugh MacMahon, who had served as Lieutenant-Colonel under the King of Spain, having been arrested on the northern side of the city, upon O'Connell's information, was, at about five o'clock on the same morning, brought before the Council and Justices at Chichester House, where he is said to have declared that he was associated with those who designed to surprise the Castle of Dublin; and "withal told them, that it was true they had him in their power, and might use him how they pleased, but he was sure he would be revenged." MacMahon was committed a prisoner to Dublin Castle, whither the Lords Justices and Council removed on the next day from Chichester House.

The first Parliament held in Ireland after the Restoration was opened at Chichester House, on the 8th of May, 1661. In the House of Peers, the Lords having taken their places, John Bramhall, the Protestant Primate of Ireland, seated on the woolsack, delivered the King's commission constituting him Speaker; the Lords Justices, Sir Maurice Eustace, Roger Boyle, Earl of Orrery, and Charles Coote, Earl of Mountrath, took their seats in chairs set on an elevation under the cloth of state,—Lord Baltinglas bearing the sword, Viscount Montgomery carrying the cap of maintenance, and the Earl of Kildare holding the robe. The House of Commons was composed almost exclusively of settlers and officials. The Speaker, Sir Audley Mervyn, in his official address to the Lords Justices, observed:—"I may warrantably say, since Ireland was happy under an English Government, there was never so choice a collection of Protestant fruit that ever grew within the walls

of the Commons' House. Your Lordships have piped in your summons to this Parliament, and the Irish have danced. How many have voted for and signed to the returns of Protestant elections? So that we may hope for, as we pray, that Japhet may be persuaded to dwell in the tent of Shem." Among the members of the House of Commons were Sir William Temple, Sir James Ware, Sir William Petty, and Dr. Dudley Loftus.

This Parliament continued, with various prorogations, to sit till the 8th of August, 1666, when it was dissolved. In the previous year it had passed the Acts of Settlement and Explanation, placing the Cromwellian adventurers in the possession of the lands of the Irish adherents of the Stuarts, to the extent of seven millions eight hundred thousand acres. "A measure of such sweeping and appalling oppression," observed an English writer, "is, perhaps, without parallel in the history of civilized nations: its injustice could not be denied; and the only apology offered in its behalf was the stern necessity of quieting the fears and jealousies of the Cromwellian settlers, and of establishing on a permanent basis the Protestant ascendancy in Ireland."

"Chichester House" was taken on lease by the Crown for the use of the Parliament in Ireland in the twenty-fifth year of Charles II. John Parry, Bishop of Ossory, who had become possessed of the property, leased to Sir Henry Forde, Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, on behalf of his Majesty and his successors, "all that part and so much of the messuages, houses, gardens, lands, and tenements, called 'Chichester House,' as was then in his Majesty's possession. The apartments and premises were specified as follow:—A large room, wherein the Lords sat; two committee-rooms for the Lords on the same floor; a stair-head room; a robe-room; a wainscot-room at the stair foot; a conference-room below stairs, wherein the Com-

mons sat; a passage-room leading to the committee-room, two committee-rooms above-stairs for the Commons; the Speaker's room; two rooms below-stairs for the serjeant-at-arms; three rooms adjoining for the clerk; two small cellars; a gate-house next the street, containing five small rooms; a court-yard, with an entry through the house to the back yard; a stable-yard, with a range of old buildings, containing five rooms, with a coal-yard, a stable, a large garden, with an old banqueting-house, and all other rooms in the said house then in his Majesty's possession. The lease was for the term of ninety-nine years, at the rent of £22 for the first six months; for the next two years and six months of £105 per annum; and for the residue of the term the yearly rent of £180."

In 1670, William Robinson, Governmental Superintendent of fortifications and buildings, was granted by the King the out-ground and gardens belonging to "Chichester House," "except a terras-walk at the east end of the said house, twenty-five feet broad, and a terras-walk on the south side of the said house, twenty feet broad; and a back yard forty feet deep," at the yearly rent of £1, provided that no building should be erected on any of the said places, and that he should keep the house in repair, and pay all taxes for goal, hospital, and poor, and other usual payments.

The office of Keeper of the Parliament House at Dublin was instituted in the reign of Charles II. The preamble of the patent, dated Dublin, 2nd June, 1677, states: "Whereas, William Robinson, Superintendent-General of our fortifications and buildings in Ireland, hath of his humble petition besought us, that whereas Chichester House, taken by us for the use of our Parliament, being uninhabited during the intervals of Parliament, doth much decay, and the reparations, being incumbent on us, are now growing very chargeable, we would be pleased to grant him

a lease of the out-grounds and gardens belonging to the said house, for 90 years, from 26th March, 1677, under some acknowledgment of rent payable thereout to us; and also to have the keeping of the said house in the intervals of Parliament, during his life, upon which account he will be obliged to all reparations at his own charge during the said term;" whereupon, added the record, his Majesty granted the Keepership of the said House in the intervals of Parliament to the said William Robinson.

By the statute of 1494, the tenth year of Henry VII., styled "Poynings' Law," it was enacted that no Parliament should be held in Ireland without the licence of the King of England, and that acts passed in an Irish Parliament should not be valid, unless they had previously been approved of by the monarch and the English Privy Council.

The first Parliament convened in Ireland after the termination of the wars of the Revolution assembled at "Chichester House" in 1692. It was presided over by the Viceroy, Henry, Viscount Sydney, a confidential adviser of William III., who conferred on him estates forfeited from Irish proprietors, to the annual value of seventeen thousand pounds. The members of this Parliament at Dublin were mainly representatives of English interests in Ireland, and the initial proceedings were officially described as follows by a contemporary:—

"Yesterday, October 5th, 1692, being the day appointed for the meeting of the Parliament, in the morning my Lord Lieutenant [Henry, Viscount Sidney] was attended at the Castle by the Lord Chancellor, Sir Charles Porter, Archbishops and Bishops in their white habits, the members of the Privy Council, the judges in their robes, the officers in Chancery, most of the Peers, and many of the House of Commons. About ten of the clock his Excellency set out from the Castle towards the



Parliament House: before his coach went the trumpets and kettle-drums, the pages, the yeomen of the stirrup, the gentlemen-at-large, the three pursuivants, the chaplains, the steward and comptroller of the house, the herald-at-arms, the sergeants-at-arms, the gentlemen-ushers, and then the king-of-arms. After his coach went the horse-guards, and the nobility with several coaches and six horses, the way being lined on both sides from the Castle to the Parliament House with foot. When his Excellency came to the Parliament House, he went immediately into the robing-room, after which the House proceeded according to the accustomed manner. The [Protestant] Bishop of Kildare, being the youngest bishop, read prayers; the Lord Chancellor and the rest of the Lords, which were in by descent, or had passed before; the [Protestant] Archbishops and Bishops took the oaths and subscribed the declaration; and after them the inferior officers of the house. The Lord Chancellor being made acquainted that there were several Lords who desired to be introduced, he appointed two of the eldest Peers (which were the Lords Ely and Massereene) to bring them into the Lords' House: the Lords who were introduced were the Lord Longford, Lord Blesinton, Lord Shelbourne, and the Lord Coningsby, one by one, before whom went the king-of-arms, and the usher of the black rod; each as he came in delivered his patent and writ of summons on his knees to the Speaker, which he caused to be read by one of the clerks; and being allowed of, he took his seat; which being all done, my Lord Lieutenant entered the House in his robes; before him went his gentlemen, the two white staves, the black rod, the two heralds, the cap of maintenance carried by my Lord Donegal, the sword by the Earl of Meath; the train was held up by three noblemen's sons, who were the Earl of Drogheda's son, Mr. Boyle, my Lord Clifford's son, and the

Lord Santry's son. His Excellency being seated on the throne, my Lord Chancellor standing on his right hand, ordered the black rod to go to the House of Commons, and acquaint them that his Excellency commanded them to attend at the bar of the House of Lords. After they were come up, his Excellency made a speech to them, and then my Lord Chancellor directed them to return and chuse their Speaker. My Lord Lieutenant being returned from his robe-room, the Lord Chancellor adjourned the House to Friday, at ten of the clock, at which time the Commons were to present their Speaker to his Excellency. The House of Commons being returned and sat, an honorable member of the House, being one of the Privy Council, moved and put the House in mind, that Sir Richard Levinge, their Majesties' Solicitor-General, would be a fit person to supply the chair: and the question being put by the Clerk, by direction of the House, it was resolved that Sir Richard Levinge, Knight, their Majesties' Solicitor-General, be Speaker of the House; and thereupon Mr. Speaker was conducted to the chair, and placed therein by two of the members, one whereof was the person who first moved for the question. The Speaker, afterwards, standing up, gave the House thanks for the honour they had done him, excusing his inability for so great an undertaking and trust, promising, nevertheless, his utmost endeavours to serve their Majesties and this country, and hoped this House would assist and support him therein. Mr. Speaker being seated, a motion was made for the reading a late act of Parliament made in England in the third year of their Majesties' reign, intituled an Act for the abrogating the oath of supremacy in Ireland, and appointing other oaths [of allegiance, and against doctrines of the Catholic religion]. Upon reading whereof, the House proceeded to the swearing their members then present in the House. And they

being sworn, the House adjourned until Friday morning at eight o'clock, in order to attend his Excellency, the Lord Lieutenant, and present their Speaker to him, according to his Excellency's command."

Roman Catholics were debarred from sitting in Parliament in Ireland, as the law required that every member should take an oath repudiating the doctrines of the Catholic Church. In illustration of this subject, the following entry appears in the Journal of the House of Lords in Ireland, under date of 29th October, 1692:—

"Richard Butler, Lord Viscount Mountgarret, kneeling, delivered his writ to the Lord Chancellor, who handed it to the clerk to be read, which being done, his lordship took the oath of allegiance, and being demanded to take the oath of supremacy, and to make and subscribe the declaration [against the Catholic religion], according to the act made in England, he refused so to do, declaring it was not agreeable to his conscience; and thereupon the Lord Chancellor acquainted the said Lord Viscount that he knew the consequence of refusing to take the said oath, and make and subscribe the said declaration, was, that he could not sit in this House, and then ordered him to withdraw."

Protestant Dissenters, who constituted nearly one-half of the Protestants in Ireland, were inadmissible to Parliament, or to public positions, until they had publicly received the Sacrament according to the rite of the Church of England.

The Parliament of 1692 had been convened by Government partly to supply funds for discharging the public debts contracted during the war with the Irish Jacobites; but the House of Commons, irritated at the disinclination of William III. to infringe the Treaty of Limerick, and resenting the encroachment of the English Legislature, rejected a

money bill transmitted to them from London. They passed resolutions that it was the sole and undoubted right of the Commons of Ireland to prepare heads of bills for raising money: and they ordered an entry to be made in their journals that the bill was thrown out by them because it had not had its rise in their House.

The Viceroy, Lord Sydney, reproved the Commons for their conduct in this affair, and, on proroguing the Parliament on the 3rd of November, 1692, addressed them as follows, in his speech from the throne:—

“These votes of yours being contrary to the statutes of the tenth of Henry the seventh and the third and fourth of Philip and Mary, and the continued practice ever since, I find myself obliged to assert their Majesties’ prerogative and the rights of the Crown of England, in these particulars, in such a manner as may be most public and permanent; and therefore I do here, in full Parliament, make my public protest against those votes and the entries of them in the journal of the House of Commons: which protest I require the Clerk of this House to read, and afterwards to enter it in the journals of this House, that it may remain as a vindication of their Majesties’ prerogative, and the right of the Crown of England in these particulars, to future ages.”

The Parliament in Ireland was again convened in August, 1695. Some of the members of its committee for religion, it is stated, proposed that John Toland, the noted Irish deistical writer, should be burned alive for attempting to propagate, in his treatise entitled “Christianity not mysterious,” views opposed to the doctrine of the Established Church. Another less zealous member, we are told, suggested that the author should be obliged to burn his book publicly. Toland, having decamped from Dub-

lin, the committee were obliged to content themselves with having "Christianity not mysterious" burned by the hangman, at noon, on College Green, at the gate of the Parliament House, and at the Tholsel. The Parliament also petitioned the Viceroy to prohibit the sale of the book, and to order the prosecution of Toland. He, in safety at a distance, compared these legislators to the Inquisitors, "who," he wrote, "performed that execution on the book when they could not seize the author, whom they had destined to the flames."

The Parliament continued to sit at "Chichester House" till prorogued in January, 1698-9, and its dissolution took place in the ensuing June.

The Parliament in England in 1698 made a distinct encroachment upon the judicial power of the Legislature in Ireland by annulling a decision given by the House of Lords there, in a suit between the Protestant Bishop of Derry and a London Company. This proceeding, combined with the act introduced in the English Parliament, prohibiting the exportation of the woollen manufactures of Ireland, elicited from William Molyneux, a master in chancery at Dublin, his treatise, entitled the "Case of Ireland being bound by acts of Parliament in England stated," in which he maintained that this newly assumed prerogative was opposed to precedent and history. After having cited various records, Molyneux, at the close of his treatise, protested against being subjected to acts passed by the Legislature of another country.

"If," wrote Molyneux, "the religion, lives, liberties, fortunes and estates of the clergy, nobility, and gentry of Ireland, may be disposed of, without their privity and consent, what benefit have they of any laws, liberties, or privileges granted unto them by the Crown of England? I am loth to give their condition a

hard name; but I have no other notion of slavery, but being bound by a law to which I do not consent.

“The obligation of all laws having the same foundation, if one law may be imposed without consent, any other law whatever may be imposed on us without our consent. This will naturally introduce taxing us without our consent; and this as necessarily destroys our property. I have no other notion of property but a power of disposing my goods as I please, and not as another shall command: whatever another may rightfully take from me without my consent, I have certainly no property in. To tax me without consent is little better, if at all, than downright robbing me.” Lastly, wrote Molyneux, “the people of Ireland are left by this doctrine in the greatest confusion and uncertainty imaginable. We are certainly bound to obey the supreme authority over us; and yet hereby we are not permitted to know who are or what the same is; whether the Parliament of England or that of Ireland, or both; and in what cases the one, and in what the other: which uncertainty is or may be made a pretence at any time for disobedience. It is not impossible but the different Legislatures we are subject to may enact different or contrary sanctions: which of these may we obey? We have,” added Molyneux, heard great outcries, and deservedly, on breaking the Edict of Nantes, and other stipulations; how far the breaking our Constitution, which has been of 500 years’ standing, exceeds that, I leave the world to judge.”

Molyneux declared himself persuaded that in this question the true welfare of England was as deeply engaged as the Protestant interest of Ireland; but he avowed his intention of submissively acquiescing in the decision of the English legislature.

It has not hitherto been observed that Molyneux’s claims were solely for the benefit of the dominant minority in Ireland. As

member for Trinity College, Dublin, Molyneux took part in the legislation which entailed on Roman Catholics and Protestant Dissenters the injustice, which, he argued, should not be inflicted on the section of the population with which he was personally associated.

At Chichester House was held the court of the Trustees, appointed by act of Parliament in England, in 1699, to dispose of the forfeited estates of James II. and his adherents in Ireland. From these forfeitures lavish grants had been made by William III. to Lord Sydney, Lady Orkney, to foreign officers and others, who had served him. The King's action in these matters was objected to in England, and formed the subject of protracted discussion in the House of Commons. An act of resumption was passed in 1699, by which the Irish forfeitures were vested in trustees, with ample legal powers to dispose of the properties. The proceeds were to be applied to payment of arrears due to the army. Under ballot, held at London, the following were appointed to act as trustees:—Sir Cyril Wych, Francis Annesley, James Hamilton, John Baggs, John Trenchard, John Isham, Henry Langford, James Hooper, John Carey, Sir Henry Sher, Thomas Harrison, William Fellowes, and Thomas Rawlins.

A large repertory was printed of the claims, as entered with the trustees at Chichester House, to the tenth of August, 1700. The hearing of the cases of the numerous claimants to the properties commenced in September, 1700, and Chichester House was daily thronged with persons, from England and Ireland, interested in the proceedings. Properties not granted or restored to claimants, after legal investigation, were submitted to sale by "cant" or public auction at Chichester House.

The auction bills were printed on large sheets of paper, with details, under the following heads:—"Late proprietors' names,

and nature of their estates; denominations; number of acres, Irish measure; yearly rents, 1702; real value per annum; net value to be set up at; tenants' names; quality of the land, etc.; estate or interest claimed or allowed." A collection of these bills, with the names of the purchasers, and the amounts realized by each lot, is extant in a large volume, entitled:—"A Book of postings and sale of the forfeited and other estates in Ireland."

During the latter part of the period appointed for the registration of the claims, the crowds attending at Chichester House were very great, and on one day upwards of 300 petitions were presented. The sales here terminated on 23rd June, 1703, and the trustees issued deeds of conveyance to the purchasers.

Large fortunes were acquired through traffic in these forfeitures, and by ingenious legal combinations in connection with the claims upon them.

Among the documents of the Court of King's Bench is a record that Bryan Hogan, and Edmond Lindon, having been found guilty of perjury before the Trustees at "Chichester House," they were ordered to be "carried publicly through the streets of the city of Dublin to 'Chichester House,' and to be carried unto the Trustees' Court, with these words written in large letters on papers, on each of their breasts, viz.: 'This is for perjury committed here,' and then to be reconveyed to Newgate, and there imprisoned until the latter paid a fine of £20, and the former of £10."

Of the opening of the sessions of Parliament at Dublin, in 1703, in the viceroyalty of the second Duke of Ormonde, the following particulars have been preserved:—

"On the 21st September all the Lords, spiritual and temporal, went to the Castle [of Dublin] about ten o'clock to wait upon



his Grace the Duke of Ormonde to the Parliament House, the spiritual Lords in their habits, and the temporal Lords without their robes. About eleven o'clock his Grace proceeded to the House of Peers in the following manner:—The streets being lined with two regiments of foot, trumpets, gentlemen-waiters, two and two; gentlemen of the bed-chamber, and gentlemen of the house, pursuivants, messengers, chaplains, two and two; secretaries, Athlone pursuivant, serjeant-at-arms; gentlemen-ushers; Ulster king-of-arms; his Grace's coach; a complete troop of horse; Lord Primate's coach, Lord Chancellor's coach, coaches of Lords spiritual and temporal.

“His Grace, being come to the House, retired into the robing chamber, where he staid until the Lords put on their robes and went into the House. Ulster king-of-arms delivered a list of the Peers to the clerk, who, being first sworn, called over the House, and swore such Lords as have sat in Parliament; such as had not, staid in the robing room. As soon as the House was sworn, the king-of-arms and the usher of the black rod, with the other servants of the House, were also sworn; and then the Lords who never sat in Parliament were introduced by the king-of-arms, and sworn. His Grace being acquainted by the usher of the black rod that the House was ready, he went to the throne in the following manner:—The Lords all standing, first entered. serjeants-at-arms, gentlemen ushers, king-of-arms, sword carried by the second Peer, cap by the eldest. His Grace in the royal robe and collar of the order [of the Garter], his train supported by a Peer's eldest son, and assisted by younger sons of Peers. While his Grace sat upon the throne, the Speaker placed himself at his Grace's left hand to receive his command. On his right hand stood the cap of maintenance, and on his left the sword of

state and the sergeant-at-arms. As soon as the Peers were sworn, and the Commons sent for, his Grace, in the royal robes, went up to the throne, and addressed himself to both Houses." . . .

"The Lord Lieutenant having made his speech, and the Commons being directed to choose a Speaker, and present him in three days after, till which time the Parliament was adjourned, his Grace went back to the robing room after the same manner, and so returned to the Castle, attended as before, except by the Peers, who remained sitting in the House. The Commons returned to their House, and unanimously chose Allen Broderick, esquire, her Majesty's Solicitor-General in that kingdom, to be their Speaker, who was accordingly presented and appeared on the 24th. Then Mr. Speaker and the members present took the oaths, and made and subscribed both the declaration and oath of abjuration, as the Lords had done on the first day of the session."

John Asgill, an English barrister, sat in this Parliament as member for Enniscorthy. Through extensive practice in the court for Irish forfeitures, and by successful speculations in land, Asgill acquired considerable wealth, portion of which he invested in the purchase of estates in Munster. At London, Asgill had published treatises on speculative subjects, including an argument that men might be translated to eternal life without passing through death. For this work he was expelled from the House of Commons at Dublin, which, by resolution, declared that this book contained several heretical and blasphemous doctrines, and positions contrary to the Christian religion and the established doctrine of the Church of Ireland, and destructive of human society.

An order was also made that Asgill's book should be burned before the Parliament House, and at the Tholsel, by the common hangman.

These lay and ecclesiastical legislators were evidently uninfluenced by the literary merits of Asgill. Coleridge declared that there is no genuine Saxon English finer than Asgill's, whose irony he thought superior to that of Swift. Asgill, added Coleridge, was "a consummate master in the statement of his case."

In 1703 the Parliament in England having reversed a decree of the House of Lords in Ireland, ordered the Earl of Meath to be ejected from certain lands in Tipperary. The Peers at Dublin protested, and commanded the sheriff of the county to reinstate the Earl.

The House of Lords at Dublin also resolved unanimously that their determinations and judgments, as the High Court of Parliament in Ireland, were final, and could not be reversed or set aside by any other court whatsoever.

On the 22nd of February, 1703-4, Sir Theobald Butler, Richard Malone, and Sir Stephen Rice, eminent barristers, the two former in their gowns, as counsel for the Catholics of Ireland in general, and the latter without a gown, as a petitioner in his private capacity, together with many others, appeared at the bar of the House of Commons, Dublin, where they appealed ineffectively against the infringement of the Treaty of Limerick by the enactment of the first bill "to prevent the further growth of Popery." Their appeal at the bar of the House of Lords, at Dublin, six days afterwards, was attended with no better success. Thus, in violation of a treaty guaranteed under the Great Seal of England, was promoted the unparalleled Penal Code, described by Edmund Burke as "a complete system, full of coherence and consistency, well digested and well composed in all its parts; a machine of elaborate contrivance, as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment, and degradation of a people, and the debasement in them of human nature itself, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man."

It is to be regretted that Joseph Addison was among the supporters of this cruel legislation. He came to Ireland as private secretary to the Viceroy, Thomas, Earl of Wharton, and was elected representative in Parliament for the borough of Cavan. Addison took his seat in the House of Commons at Dublin, on the 13th of May, 1709, some days before his first paper appeared in the "Tatler," at London.

In 1709 it was found necessary to expend a considerable sum in repairing "Chichester House," and "although several parts of the interior were in such order as that they might last a considerable time, yet they appeared by no means fit to continue in the condition they were in for the Parliament, the floors being very uneven, and patched in many places, and the windows and ceilings very unbecoming." From an official document of the year 1709 we learn that the roof of Chichester House was 110 feet square, that the house had eight stacks of chimneys; and that there were five windows in the roof of the House of Commons. It also appeared that the banqueting house had then fallen to the ground. "I remember," wrote Lord Mountnorres in 1792, "to have heard from the Clerk of the House of Lords, Mr Hawker, that Chichester House was very inconvenient. I," added his Lordship, "cannot help, however, lamenting that a map of the dispositions of the apartments and grounds of Chichester House, which, about twenty years ago, was hung up in the House of Commons' Coffee-house, was unaccountably lost."

The Peers in England, in 1717, entertained an appeal from Maurice Annesley, against a decree of the Lords at Dublin, whose decision they reversed. Supported by the authority of the Barons of the Exchequer in Ireland, they directed the sheriff of Kildare to reinstate Annesley in the lands from which he had been dis-

possessed by order of the House of Lords at Dublin. The sheriff having been heavily mulcted for refusing to execute this order from England, appealed to the House of Peers at Dublin, which remitted the fines, declaring that he had behaved himself with integrity and courage, and with due respect to the orders and resolutions of Parliament.

The Duke of Leeds formally protested against the vote of the House of Lords in England, which declared this trial before the Peers at Dublin to be 'coram non judice.' The Peers at Dublin appealed to the King against the attempts made to transfer the court of dernier resort or final judicature from them to the Lords in England. The controversy was terminated for the time by the Parliament in England passing the declaratory statute of 6 George I. (1719-20), which set forth:—"That the Kingdom of Ireland hath been, is, and of right ought to be, subordinate unto and dependent upon the Imperial Crown of Great Britain, as being inseparately united and annexed thereunto, and that the King, with the consent of the Lords and Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, hath power to make laws of sufficient force to bind the Kingdom and people of Ireland. And that the House of Lords of Ireland have not, nor ought of right to have, any jurisdiction to judge of, affirm, or reverse any judgment or decree made in any court within the said Kingdom; and that all proceedings before the said House of Lords upon any such judgment or decree are void."

Swift, in the "Drapier's Letters," published anonymously in 1724, opposed the doctrine sought to be promulgated, that Ireland was a kingdom dependent upon England, and protested against the right which the English Parliament had recently assumed, of making laws to bind Ireland, "wherein," he observed, "they were

at first openly opposed (as far as truth, reason, and justice are capable of opposing) by the famous Mr. Molyneux, an English gentleman born here, as well as by several of the greatest patriots and best Whigs in England; but the love and torrent of power prevailed. The arguments," continued Swift, "were invincible, for, in reason, all government without the consent of the governed, is the very definition of slavery; but, in fact, eleven men well armed will certainly subdue one single man in his shirt." But, added Swift, alluding to the rigid suppression of independent opinion at the time, "I have done: for those who have used to cramp liberty have gone so far as to resent even the liberty of complaining; although a man upon the rack was never known to be refused the liberty of roaring as loud as he thought fit."

Swift, in his publications, avowed his satisfaction that the Catholics in Ireland had been, through the penal laws, stripped of their possessions, and were becoming little better than hewers of wood and drawers of water. The Presbyterian body in Ireland Swift compared to an angry cat, ready to fly at the throats of the Protestants, and he denounced every attempt to place Dissenters on an equality in civil rights with members of the Established Church.

The decay of "Chichester House" demanding the serious attentions of its frequenters, a committee was appointed in 1723 to report on the condition of the edifice, and to estimate for the erection of a new Parliament House. There were not, however, any steps taken towards this undertaking till 1727. It was then found that the outer walls of "Chichester House" overhung dangerously in several places, that the wall-plates and bottoms of the rafters were so decayed that but for timely repairs the roof must have fallen in; and as it appeared impracticable to

put the old building in a condition to stand for any length of time, a report was made on the 10th of January, 1727-8, that the erection of a new house was absolutely necessary. On the succeeding day £6,000 were voted "towards providing materials and building a new Parliament House," the receiving of plans and proposals for which was delegated to a committee appointed by the Commons. On the 30th of the ensuing April the Commons resolved that the ground on which Chichester House stood, with what was further proposed to be granted by Mr. Parry, was the most convenient site for the erection of a new Parliament House.

The plan for the building, approved of by the committee, was by Edward Lovet Pearce, and their decision was ratified by the King and the Lord Lieutenant. Pearce was captain in a regiment of dragoons, and in 1727 obtained a seat in Parliament at Dublin, as member for the borough of Ratoath, in the county of Meath. On the 11th of June, 1728, Pearce wrote as follows from London to the Viceroy, Lord Carteret:—

"In obedience to your Excellency's commands, I have prepared the within list of particular materials necessary to be provided towards building the Parliament House in Dublin, according to my plan, which his Majesty, your Excellency, and the honourable House of Commons have been pleased to honour with your approbation. Some other materials will remain unprovided, but may be procured in time when the building shall be begun, and I humbly conceive that what I now lay before you will employ the six thousand pounds given by Parliament."

The list enclosed was as follows:—

306 tun of oak timber,	300 foot of stone steps,
610 " " fir " "	28,944 load of building
2,000 common deals,	stone,
200 best deals,	12,644 thousand of bricks,

11,140 hogsheads of lime,	400 weight of solder,
400 cartloads of sand,	36 tun of iron,
393 hogsheads of lime for plastering,	4,354 foot of Bristol crown glass
30 tun of plaster,	159 thousand of slates,
70 tun of lead,	16     ,,     of oak laths,
	32     ,,     of deal laths.

A lease of the ground for 900 years was taken by the Crown from Benjamin Parry, and "Chichester House" was demolished in December, 1728.

In the absence of the Viceroy, Lord Carteret, the foundation ceremonial devolved on the Lords Justices, Hugh Boulter, Protestant Archbishop of Armagh; Thomas Wyndham, Lord Chancellor, and William Conolly, Speaker of the House of Commons.

On the 3rd of February, 1728-29, the first stone of the new building was laid with much solemnity by the Lords Justices, attended by several Peers, Captain Edward Lovet Pearce, members of Parliament, clergymen of the Established Church, and Freemasons, with the viceregal guards, and detachments of horse and foot soldiers.

The foundation stone, a large, hewn, white block, with a cavity in the centre, was placed in its bed by Primate Boulter, who removed the prop with which it was supported. It was then adjusted by the Lords Justices, assisted by the King-of-Arms, who at intervals waved his handkerchief for the State musicians to play.

In the stone were placed a silver medal of George II. and another of Queen Caroline, over which was inserted a plate with the following inscription:—

"SERENISSIMUS ET POTENTISSIMUS REX GEORGIUS SECUNDUS, PER EXCELLENT. DOMINUM JOHANNEM, DOMINUM CARTERET ET BARONEM DE HAWNES LOCUM TENENTEM, ET PER EXCELLENTES DOMINOS



HUGONEM, ARCHIEPISCOPUM ARMACHANUM, THOMAM WYNDHAM, CANCELLARIUM, GULIELMUM CONOLLY, DOM. COM. PROLOCUTOREM, JUSTICIARIOS GENERALES, PRIMUM HUIUSCE DOMUS PARLIAMENT. LAPIDEM POSUIT, TERTIA DIE FEBRUARII, ANNO DOM. MDCCXXVIII."

With the plate were deposited several of the current gold and silver coins, and the aperture was closed by a small stone, bound down with iron bars.

The Lords Justices, we are told, "were pleased to leave on the stone a purse with twenty-one guineas, which were distributed amongst the craftsmen to drink the healths of the King, Queen, and royal family."

The Committee appointed to inquire as to the progress made in the building, reported in November, 1729, that they could not "help observing with the greatest pleasure an uncommon beauty, order, and contrivance in the building; and that the same had been carried on with unusual expedition and diligence; that the money expended had been laid out with the greatest frugality, and the accounts kept in a most regular and orderly manner." The Committee further observed that "the Director appointed by the Government had attended the work from the beginning with the utmost application, and had thereby saved a large sum to the public, which in the course of such work, by the ordinary method, must necessarily have been expended; and at the same time had charged nothing for his own great expenses, skill, and pains." On November, 22, 1729, the day on which this report was brought up, the Commons unanimously voted the payment of £1,000 to Captain Edward Lovet Pearce, for the care and pains he had taken in contriving and carrying on the building of the new Parliament House.

It having been found necessary to obtain possession of some

buildings contiguous to the site of Chichester House, an act was passed in 1730 to enable his Majesty to purchase the respective interests of the several persons entitled to houses and grounds adjoining the Parliament House.

The first session in the new edifice commenced on the 5th of October, 1731. Lionel Sackville, Duke of Dorset, Lord Lieutenant, in his speech from the throne on this occasion, said: "I shall leave it to your consideration whether any further laws may be necessary to prevent the growth of Popery, and to secure you against all dangers from the great numbers of Papists in this kingdom."

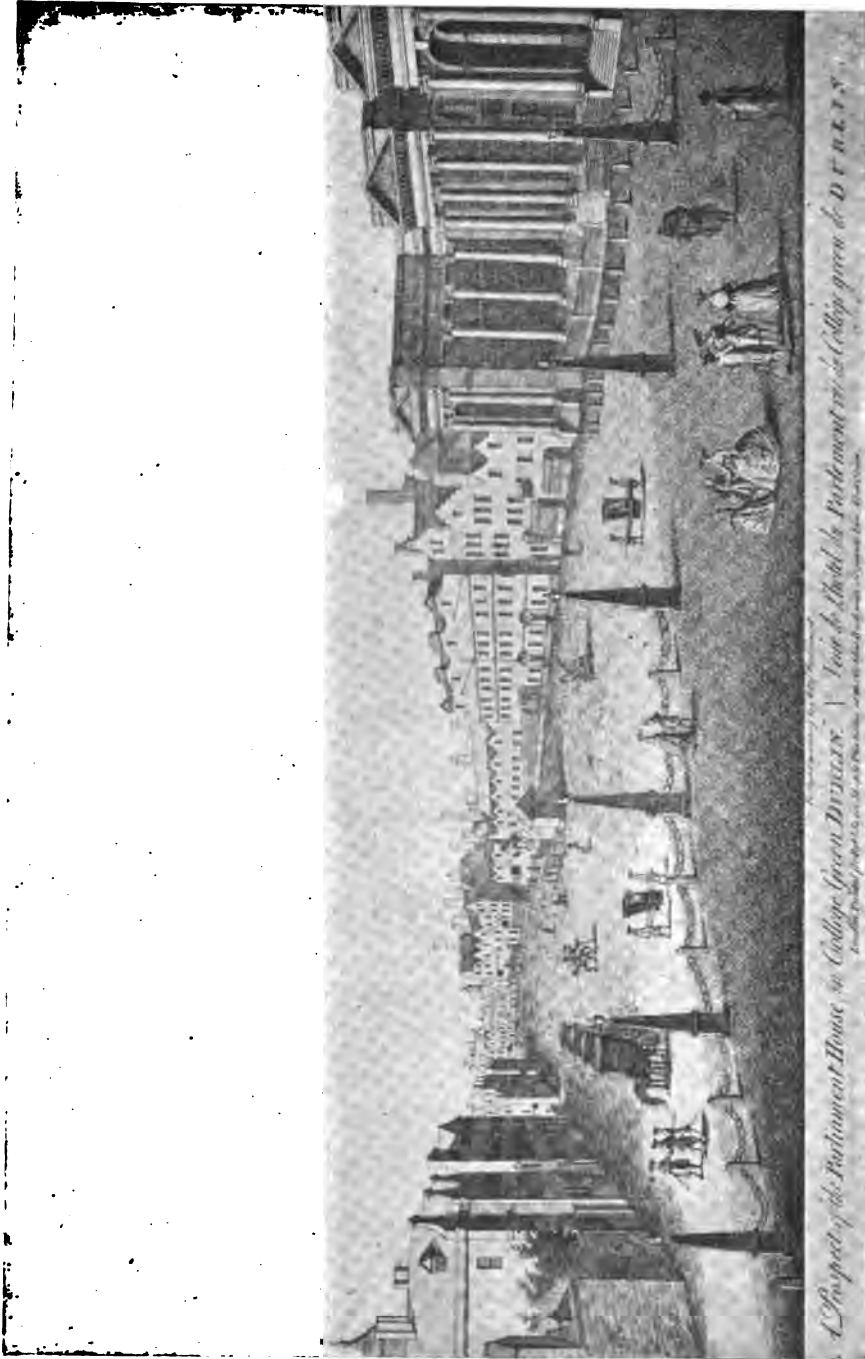
In December of the same year the Commons agreed to a resolution to present an address to the Viceroy, that the additional sum of £1,000 might be paid to Edward Lovet Pearce, esquire, "in consideration of the care and pains he had taken in carrying on the building of the Parliament House, and shall take, in finishing the same." The House of Lords, at the same time, unanimously resolved that Captain Edward Lovet Pearce, Surveyor-General of his Majesty's works, has shown true ability, skill, and good workmanship, in the building of the Parliament House, and had executed his office with great fidelity, care and diligence. It was, however, rumoured at the time, that Pearce had obtained the plan from Richard Castle, a German architect who had settled in Dublin. The earliest accessible authority for this statement is a pseudonymous work, printed for private circulation in 1736, the writer of which admitted that Pearce had incurred his enmity by opposing him in a family lawsuit.

Dr. Delany's poem, entitled the "Pheasant and the Lark," published in 1730, contains a complimentary allusion to Pearce's architectural skill.

Pearce was appointed Director-General and overseer of fortifications and buildings in Ireland in 1730-1, and received knighthood in 1732. In the latter year he made a proposal to Government for employing part of the infantry forces in Ireland in making a navigable canal between Lough Neagh and Newry.

Pearce died at his house at Stillorgan in December, 1733, and was buried in Donnybrook churchyard. There also was subsequently interred his brother, Lieutenant-General Thomas Pearce, who had displayed great courage and abilities through the campaigns in Spain and Portugal, and was Privy Councillor, member of Parliament, and Governor of Limerick. After Sir Edward Pearce's death, the works of the Parliament House were finished under the superintendence of Arthur Dobbs, who succeeded him as Surveyor-General, and was said also to have been assisted by Castle.

The expenditure on the Parliament House to December, 1735, including £2,000 to Pearce, and sums paid, pursuant to act of Parliament, to the proprietors of the several buildings which obstructed the approaches, amounted to £28,471 10s. 5½d. The Parliamentary Committee appointed in 1735 to inquire into the state and condition of the building, resolved "that Sir Edward Lovet Pearce, late Engineer and Surveyor-General, and his executrix, Anne, Lady Pearce, had faithfully and honestly accounted for the several sums by him received for building the Parliament House." In November, 1737, there remained to be finished all the portico from the architrave upwards, with its roofing and ceiling, part of the carving of the columns, the whole pavement within the colonnade, the pavement in the area before the portico, with the balustrade and iron palisade to enclose it, pursuant to the plan, to conclude which and other necessaries the House of Commons voted £5,461 4s. These works were com-



A Prospect of the Parliament House in College Green, Cambridge, Mass. - View from the East of the Parliament House in College Green, Cambridge, Mass. - W. H. W. del.

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pleted in 1739 under the superintendence of Arthur Dobbs, and the Parliamentary Committee having resolved that in finishing the building he had acquitted himself with great care and frugality, the House of Commons subsequently voted him £250 "for his care and pains in finishing the Parliament House."

A few years after the erection of the Parliament House a view of its exterior and portions of its vicinage was painted by Joseph Tudor, a Dublin artist. A reproduction, in reduced size, from an old engraving of this work is here given.

The Parliament in Ireland, as constituted by the Government of England, was not even remotely representative of the Irish people, four-fifths of whom were, as Catholics, permitted neither to sit in it, nor to vote at the election of its members, who openly avowed towards the natives irreconcilable antipathies of race, interests, and religion. The numerical body of the inhabitants having been effectually excluded from taking an active part in the affairs of the nation, every important question between Great Britain and Ireland affecting the political situations of the two countries was freed from the interference of the Irish Catholics as completely as if they had no actual existence; and thus the interest of the majority of the people exerted no influence whatever in the agitation of any national subject. "The Parliament in Ireland," said Lord Chancellor Clare, "seemed to have rested the security of the colony upon maintaining a perpetual and impassable barrier against the ancient inhabitants of the country."

The Governmental business in the Parliament in Ireland was managed by three or four leading members, possessing sufficient influence in the House of Commons to obtain by their coalition a clear majority upon any question. These personages, known as "Undertakers," regularly stipulated with the Viceroy

the terms on which they would carry the King's business through the House, and procure the passing of the votes for supplies. In return, they required that the disposal of all Court-favours, places, pension, and preferments, should pass through their hands, in order to keep their subalterns in a state of dependence on them. The leader made all applications, and claimed as a right the privilege of gratifying his friends in proportion to their numbers. When the demands of the "Undertakers" were not complied with, every measure was taken to cross and obstruct the business of Government, and the Parliamentary session became a struggle for power between the heads of rival parties, who, during the absence of the Viceroy, pushed themselves into the office of Lord Justice, according to the prevalence of their interest.

To obviate the inconveniences resulting from that portion of "Poynings' Law" decreeing that no acts should be passed by the Legislature in Ireland except those which had been approved in England, and transmitted thence before the opening of the Parliament in Ireland, a statute was enacted in the reign of Philip and Mary. It authorized the Peers and Commons to pass bills which should, at any time during the session, be certified to the King by the Viceroy and Privy Council, as expedient for the kingdom, and returned under the great seal of England. This statute and Poynings' Act regulated the entire proceedings of the Legislature in Ireland, and at the first sitting of every new Parliament, and then only, bills were sent over under the great seal of England, and either passed or rejected by the two Houses.

The ordinary course was for a member of either House to bring in "heads of bills," which, if passed, were laid before the Viceroy, and by him referred to the Privy

Council, who, having made such alterations as they desired, certified them to the King under the great seal in Ireland. The Privy Council of England referred the document to their Attorney-General; and after having undergone his amendments, with the approval of the Council, it was returned under the great seal of England to the Parliament in Ireland, which could merely receive or reject, but had not the power of altering a word of it. The bill, having passed a second time the House in which it had taken its rise, was sent to the other House, and subsequently received the royal assent. Any proposed bills militating against the sentiments of Government were usually arrested in their progress to the Throne by the Privy Council in Ireland refusing to certify them; and this suppression was technically styled "putting them under the cushion."

On the opening day of a session of Parliament, the Speaker was usually attended from his residence to College Green by a procession composed of members of the House of Commons.

The Viceroy's visits to the Parliament House were conducted with much of the pomp and state of royalty; the streets, from the Castle to the College, were on these occasions lined with soldiers; while a squadron of cavalry accompanied the cortege, which moved forward in solemn procession with military music. On entering the Parliament House, the Viceroy went to his "robing-room." Thence, arrayed in viceregal robes, he proceeded to the House of Lords, attended by two Earls, one bearing the sword of state, and the other the cap of maintenance, three noblemen's sons supporting the train of his robe.

After making an obeisance to the throne, the Viceroy took his seat in the chair of state under the canopy: all the Peers, spiritual and temporal, standing, robed, in their places, and uncovered, till they took their seats. When the royal assent



was to be given to bills, the Lord Chancellor, kneeling, conferred with the Viceroy, and then, standing on the right hand of the chair of state, commanded the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod to acquaint the House of Commons that it was his Excellency's pleasure that they should attend him immediately in the House of Peers. The Commons, with their Speaker, having arrived, were conducted to the bar, where the Speaker, after an oration, read the titles of the bills prepared to be presented for the royal assent. The bills were then delivered at the bar by the Speaker to the Clerk of the Parliaments, who brought them to the table, where the Clerk of the Crown having read their titles, the Clerk of the Parliaments pronounced the royal assent severally in these words: "Le Roy remercie ses bons sujets, accepte leur benevolence, et ainsi le veut." When the bills were not money bills, the assent was given by the words: "Le Roy le veut," or "Soit fait comme il est desirè." The Lord Lieutenant with his suite then withdrew, in the same order as they had entered, and the Commons having returned to their House, the Lords retired to unrobe, after which the sitting was either adjourned or resumed.

At meetings of the Peers with the Lower House relative to messages sent up, the mode of proceeding was as follows: The Commons having, by the Usher, given notice to the Lords, the latter, after despatching the business on which they were engaged, and all sitting covered, sent for them, who, on entering, stood at the lower end of the chamber. The Chancellor, with those Peers who pleased, then rose and went down to the middle of the bar, to which the chief of the Committee, in the midst of them, and the rest about him, came, with three obeisances, and delivered their message to the Chancellor, who, on receiving it, retired to his former place, and reported it to the Peers after the with-

drawal of the Commons. The Lords having come to a decision, sent for the Commons, who, on re-entering, approached the bar with three obeisances, as before, and the Peers, sitting in order and covered, the answer, in the name of the House, was delivered by the Chancellor from the woolsack.

Conferences between the Houses through members delegated by them were with the object of preserving good understanding, and to facilitate the passing of bills by consideration and concurrence before laying them before Government for transmission to England. The conferences were held in the "conference chamber," between the two Houses. It was described as cold, inconvenient, and at times a waiting place for servants, but with a reserved space railed off for members.

The Lords usually came in a body, and sat covered, while the Commons, at such committees or conferences, were not allowed to be covered or to sit down.

The conferences were discontinued in consequence of a dispute which arose between the two Houses in 1737. On arriving at the usual place, the managers, acting on behalf of the Commons, found the table pushed close and fixed to the rail, so that the only available space was occupied by servants and persons in waiting. The managers promptly withdrew, and laid a statement before the House of Commons, where a resolution was passed, that it was the ancient and undoubted right of the Commons, that at all conferences with the Lords the managers of the Commons should stand within the rail in the place appointed for conference.

No persons, except members, or such as had been commanded to attend, were permitted to enter the House of Peers during the sittings, or to be present at any committee or conference, under pain of severe and exemplary punishment. At conferences with the Commons, none but members of the Committee were allowed

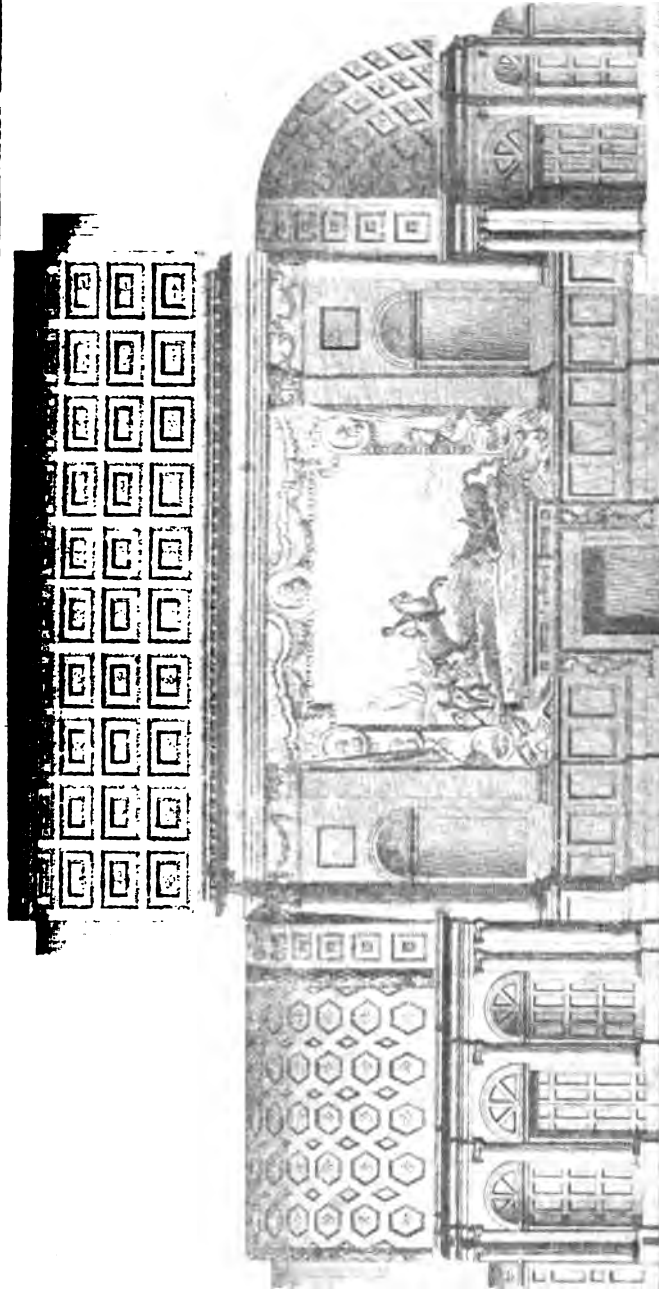
to speak, and when any matter that had been committed was reported, all the Lords of the Committee stood up uncovered.

The station of the Usher of the Black Rod was outside the bar, and he spoke there, according to occasion. The Sergeant-at-arms was also stationed outside the bar, in an adjoining apartment, and entered only when called upon.

At the debates in the House of Lords none were suffered to be present but the sons of Peers and persons required to attend. The constables and messengers of the Parliament were ordered to prohibit hackney-coachmen with their coaches from coming to the door of the House. Previously to the opening of the session, the Lord Mayor usually issued a proclamation forbidding drivers of carts, cars, and drays to pass, re-pass, or go through any part of Dame-street or College Green from 11 a. m. to 5 p. m., during the sitting of Parliament, in order to prevent stoppages and obstructions to the great concourse of people whose affairs caused them to resort thither.

Two large pieces of tapestry were set up in the House of Lords, containing representations of imaginary scenes at the relief of Derry and the battle of the Boyne.

The tapestry was manufactured by Robert Baillie, of Dublin, and cost three pounds per ell, inclusive of the expense of the designs. When placed in the House of Lords, in September, 1733, the tapestry was considered equal to that made at Brussels to commemorate Marlborough's victories. Baillie's original contract, in 1727, was to furnish six pieces of tapestry, including, in addition to the two mentioned, representations of the landing of William III. and his army at Carrickfergus; his entry into Dublin; the battle of Aughrim; and the taking of Cork and Kinsale by Marlborough. As compensation for the loss Baillie sustained through the curtailment of his contract, the House of Lords presented him with two hundred pounds.



*A Section of the HOUSE of LORDS Dublin*

LIBRARY  
ASTORIA, OREGON  
TILDEN FOUNDATION

The persecuting spirit exhibited by the Legislature of their English mother country towards the Press was emulated by the Parliament in Ireland, which usually ordered publications reporting its proceedings or reflecting on its members to be burned by the common hangman, at noon, at the gate of the House. Publishers were occasionally summoned to the bar, and fined and imprisoned for breach of privilege.

For having committed George Faulkner, the publisher, to Newgate in 1735, the Commons were censured in verses commencing:—

“Better we all were in our graves  
Than live in slavery to slaves.”

The lengths to which the prosecutions of the Press were carried by the Parliament in Ireland in the early years of the reign of George II., elicited the following diatribe:—

“Ye paltry underlings of state;  
Ye senators who love to prate;  
Ye rascals of inferior note,  
Who, for a dinner, sell a vote;  
Ye pack of pensionary peers,  
Whose fingers itch for poets' ears;  
Ye bishops, far removed from saints,  
Why all this rage? why these complaints?  
Why against printers all this noise?  
This summoning of blackguard boys?  
Why so soacious in your guesses?  
Your F's, and T's, and R's and S's!  
Take my advice; to make you safe,  
I know a shorter way by half.  
The point is plain:—remove the cause:  
Defend your liberties and laws;

Be sometimes to your country true ;  
 Have once the public good in view ;  
 Bravely despise champagne at court,  
 And choose to dine at home with port ;  
 Let prelates, by their good behaviour,  
 Convince us they believe a Saviour ;  
 Nor sell what they so dearly bought—  
 This country—now their own—for nought.”

From the shape of its dome, the appellation of the “Goose Pie” was commonly applied to the Parliament House in local satires of the last century. Of these one of the most severe was that by Jonathan Swift, in 1736, entitled “A Character, Panegyric, and Description of the Legion Club.” This satire was occasioned by the steps taken in Parliament at Dublin to stop numerous suits at law commenced by dignitaries of the Protestant Church to enforce payment of a new kind of tithe under the name of “agistment” or herbage. The House of Commons passed resolutions that the clergy of the Established Church had already ample and plentiful provision, and that the commencing of suits on the demand of tithe agistment for dry and barren cattle, must impair the Protestant interest, and occasion Popery and infidelity to gain ground. “by the contest that should necessarily arise between the laity and the clergy.” The Protestants in the country at this period felt little interest for the clerical order, not seeing any prospect of their own relations receiving promotion in it, as the Episcopal Bench and other lucrative positions in the Established Church in Ireland were then mainly filled by ecclesiastics from England. In the “Legion Club” the following passages occur:—

"As I stroll the city, oft I  
See a building large and lofty,  
Not a bow-shot from the College;  
Half the globe from sense and knowledge:  
By the prudent architect,  
Placed against the church direct,  
Making good my grandam's jest,  
'Near the church'—you know the rest.  
Tell us what the pile contains?  
Many a head that holds no brains.  
These demoniacs let me dub  
With the name of Legion Club;  
Such assemblies, you might swear,  
Meet when butchers bait a bear:  
Such a noise, and such haranguing,  
When a brother thief is hanging;  
Such a rout, and such a rabble,  
Run to hear Jack-pudding gabble.  
Could I from the building's top  
Hear the rattling thunder drop,  
While the Devil upon the roof  
(If the Devil be thunder-proof)  
Should with poker fiery red,  
Crack the stones and melt the lead;  
Drive them down on every skull,  
When the den of thieves is full;  
Quite destroy that harpies' nest;  
How might then our Isle be blest!  
For Divines allow that God  
Sometimes makes the Devil His rod;  
And the Gospel will inform us,  
He can punish sins enormous.  
Yet should Swift endow the schools,  
For his lunatics and fools,



With a rood or two of land,  
 I allow the pile may stand.  
 You, perhaps, may ask me, why so?  
 But it is with this proviso:  
 Since the house is like to last,  
 Let the royal grant be pass'd,  
 That the Club have right to dwell  
 Each within his proper cell,  
 With a passage left to creep in,  
 And a hole above for peeping.  
 Let them, when they once get in,  
 Sell the nation for a pin;  
 While they sit a-picking straws,  
 Let them rave at making laws.  
 Let them form a grand committee,  
 How to plague and starve the city;  
 Let them stare, and storm, and frown,  
 When they see a clergy gown;  
 Let them with their gosling quills  
 Scribble senseless heads of bills."

After a diatribe against Sir Thomas Prendergast, as "sprung from Papists," the author continues:—

"Come, assist me, Muse obedient!  
 Let us try some new expedient;  
 Shift the scene for half-an-hour,  
 Time and place are in thy power.  
 Thither, gentie Muse, conduct me;  
 I shall ask, and you instruct me.  
 See, the Muse unbars the gate;  
 Hark, the monkeys, how they prate!  
 All ye gods, who rule the soul:  
 Styx, through Hell whose waters roll!

Let me be allowed to tell  
 What I heard in yonder Hell.  
 Near the door an entrance gapes,  
 Crowded round with antic shapes,  
 Poverty, and Grief, and Care,  
 Causeless Joy, and true Despair;  
 Discord, periwigg'd with snakes,  
 See the dreadful strides she takes!  
 In the porch Briareus stands,  
 Shews a bribe in all his hands;  
 Briareus, the Secretary,  
 But we mortals call him Carey.  
 When the rogues their country fleece,  
 They may hope for pence a-piece.  
 There Clio saw three hundred brutes  
 All involved in wild disputes,  
 Roaring till their lungs were spent,  
 ‘Privilege of Parliament.’”

The author then proceeds with invectives against John Waller, Richard Tighe, Sergeant Bettsworth, Owen Wynne, Bingham, the Allens, and other members of the House. After reproaching Dr. Marcus Anthony Morgan, Chairman of the Parliamentary Committee, for having joined with those who voted against the demands of the clergy, the writer concludes as follows:—

“How I want thee, humorous Hogarth!  
 Thou, I hear, a pleasant rogue art.  
 Were but you and I acquainted,  
 Every monster should be painted:  
 You should try your gravng tools  
 On this odious group of fools;  
 Draw the beasts as I describe them:  
 Form their features while I gibe them;

Draw them like, for, I assure you,  
 You will need no car'atura;  
 Draw them so that we may trace  
 All the soul in every face.  
 'Keeper, I must now retire,  
 You have done what I desire;  
 But I feel my spirits spent  
 With the noise, the sight, the scent'  
 'Pray, be patient; you shall find  
 Half the list are still behind!  
 You have hardly seen a score;  
 I can shew two hundred more.'  
 'Keeper, I have seen enough.'  
 Taking then a pinch of snuff,  
 I concluded, looking round them,  
 'May their god, the Devil, confound them.' "

In an interval of the meetings of Parliament in 1739, the House of Commons, Dublin, was assigned as a court for the trial of Henry Barry, fourth Lord Santry, who was indicted for having in the previous year killed a man at Palmerstown.

The 27th of April having been appointed for the trial, a regiment of infantry took up its station on College Green, soon after 6 a.m., and at 7 o'clock the company of Battle-axe guards lined the avenues leading to the Parliament House, the city constables attending to preserve the peace.

At half-past seven o'clock, the prisoner, then in his twenty-ninth year, was conveyed in a hackney-coach, from gaol, by the High Sheriffs of the city, to the House of Commons, which had been fitted up for the occasion; and at 10 o'clock, Thomas, Lord Wyndham, Chancellor of Ireland, constituted High Steward by royal commission, proceeded from his residence in Stephen's Green to the Parliament House. The

following account of the proceedings is preserved in a contemporary manuscript:—

“On the morning of the trial, the Judges in their scarlet robes, together with the King-of-Arms, the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, and the Sergeant-at-Arms, assembled at the Lord High Steward’s house, to wait upon his Grace, the King-of-Arms being in his coat of arms, the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod having the white staff, and the Sergeant-at-Arms having his mace.

“After a short stay, his Grace the Lord High Steward went to his coach in the following order: his Grace’s twelve gentlemen, two-and-two, bare-headed; his Sergeant-at-Arms and Seal-Bearer, both bare-headed, the one with the mace, the other with the purse; the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod with his Grace the Lord High Steward’s white staff, and the King-of-Arms on his right hand, both bare-headed; then his Grace the Lord High Steward, in his rich gown, with his train borne, followed by the Chief Justices and Judges.

“His Grace’s gentlemen first took their coaches, four in a coach, each coach having two horses. Then his Grace the Lord High Steward took his coach, with six horses, seating himself on the hinder seat of the coach singly, the King-of-Arms and the Seal-bearer sitting over against his Grace, bare-headed, the Black Rod in the right-hand boot of the coach with his Grace’s white staff; and his Grace’s Sergeant-at-Arms in the left boot, with his mace. The Judges took their coaches and followed his Grace.

“A messenger was sent a little before to acquaint the Lords the triers, who were assembled in a room near the place appointed for the trial of the prisoner, that his Grace was coming, upon which they went and took their seats in the Court.

“When his Grace came to the gate where the Court was held, he

was met by four other sergeants, with their maces, and attended to his seat in the Court in this order : his Grace's Gentlemen, two-and-two ; the Sergeants-at-Arms, two-and-two ; his Grace's Sergeant-at-Arms and Seal-Bearer ; the Black Rod, and King-of-Arms ; his Grace the Lord High Steward, with his train borne, followed by the Chief Justices and Judges, two-and-two. Then his Grace proceeded, saluting the Peers on each side as he passed, to a chair, under a cloth of state, placed upon an ascent of one step only, and he having seated himself, the purse was laid on a stool a little before him on his right hand, and his Grace's Sergeant-at-Arms went with his mace to the lower end of the table.

“Then, his Grace being in the chair, the Lords triers on their benches on each side, and the Judges on their seats at the table, the King-of-Arms and the Seal-bearer placed themselves on his Grace's right hand, the Black Rod on his left, and the Sergeant-at-Arms and his Gentlemen on each side of his Grace, more backward. Then the Clerk of the Crown in the King's Bench, and the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, having the King's commission to his Grace in his hand, both made three reverences to his Grace, and at the third reverence, coming up before him, they both kneeled down ; and the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery, on his knee, presented the commission to his Grace, who delivered it to the Clerk of the Crown of the King's Bench, who received it upon his knees, and then they, with three reverences, returned to the table.

“Then the Clerk of the Crown of the King's Bench directed his Grace's Sergeant-at-Arms (after thrice crying ‘oyez’) to make proclamation of silence, while his Majesty's commission to his Grace the Lord High Steward was reading, which proclamation the Clerk of the Crown directed, and the Sergeant-at-Arms made, with his mace on his shoulder ; then the Clerk of

the Crown of the King's Bench, opening the commission, read it, his Grace and the Lords standing up, uncovered, while it was reading.

"The commission being read, and his Grace bowing to the Peers, who returned the salute, and sitting down again, the King-of-Arms, and the Black Rod, with three reverences, jointly presented the white staff, on their knees, to his Grace, who, after a little time, re-delivered the same to the Usher of the Black Rod, to hold during the trial.

"Then the King-of-Arms returned to the right, and the Usher of the Black Rod, holding the white staff, to the left of his Grace's chair. And proclamation was made for all persons except Peers, Privy Councillors, and the Judges to be uncovered.

"Then proclamation was made, that the person or persons to whom any writ or precept had been directed, for the certifying any indictment or record before the Lord High Steward, his Grace, should certify and bring in the same forthwith, according to the tenor of the same writ and precept to them or any of them directed.

"Whereupon the writ of certiorari, with the precept to the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and the returns to the same, were delivered in at the table, and read by the Clerk of the Crown of the King's Bench.

"Then proclamation was made for the person or persons in whose custody the prisoner was, to return to his or their writ and precept, together with the body of the prisoner, into court.

"Whereupon the Sheriffs of the City of Dublin gave in the writ directed to them for bringing up the prisoner, together with his Grace's precept and their returns to the same, which were read by the Clerk of the Crown of the King's Bench.

"Then they brought the prisoner to the bar, the axe being

carried before him, and the person carrying the axe stood with it at the bar, on the right hand of the prisoner, turning the edge from him.

“The prisoner, at his approach to the bar, made three reverences, one to his Grace the Lord High Steward, the others to the Peers on each hand, and his Grace and the Peers returned the salute to him.

“Then the proclamation was made for the Sergeant-at-Arms to return his Grace the Lord High Steward’s precept to him directed, together with the names of all the Lords and noblemen of the realm, peers of the prisoner, by him summoned forthwith.

“Then the Clerk of the Crown of the King’s Bench directed the Sergeant-at-Arms to make proclamation for all Earls, Viscounts, and Barons of the realm, peers of the prisoner, who, by commandment of his Grace the Lord High Steward, were summoned to appear there that day and were present in court to answer to their names.

“Then the Peers summoned were called over, and those who appeared, standing up uncovered, answered to their names, each making a reverence to his Grace the Lord High Steward, and were:—

Robert, Earl of Kildare.  
 Henry, Earl of Thomond.  
 Alexander, Earl of Antrim.  
 James, Earl of Roscommon.  
 Chaworth, Earl of Meath.  
 Edward, Earl of Drogheda.  
 Hugh, Earl of Mount-Alexander.  
 John, Earl of Grandison.  
 Nicholas, Viscount Netterville.  
 Theobald, Viscount Mayo.  
 William, Viscount Mountjoy.  
 George, Viscount Castlecomer.

James, Viscount Limerick.  
 Marcus, Viscount Tyrone  
 Brabazon, Viscount Duncannon.  
 Humphrey, Viscount Lanesborough.  
 Francis, Baron of Athenry.  
 William, Baron of Howth  
 George, Baron of Carberry.  
 Charles, Lord Tullamore.  
 Thomas, Lord Southwell.  
 William, Lord Castledurrow.  
 John, Lord Desart.

“After this the Peers triers took their places on the benches on each side, according to their respective degrees.

“Then his Grace the Lord High Steward addressed himself to the prisoner, and the indictment having been read :

“Clerk of the Crown : Is your Lordship guilty or not guilty ?

“Lord Santry : Not guilty.

“Clerk of the Crown : How will your Lordship be tried ?

“Lord Santry : By God and my peers.

“Then the Lord High Steward gave his charge to the Peers.”

“Laughlin Murphy, the unfortunate man killed, was,” according to Robert Jocelyn, the Attorney-General, “a person who with a good deal of industry and difficulty maintained himself, a wife, and three small children, by being employed as a porter, and carrying letters and messages.—The day this unfortunate accident happened,” continues our authority, “was the 9th of August, the fair-day of Palmerstown, the house a public-house, and, as I am instructed, the door that leads into the house goes into a narrow passage upon the right hand ; the passage leads to the chamber where the noble Lord the prisoner at the bar was with his company on the left to the door of the kitchen, where the deceased was. It has been opined that the Lord the prisoner at the bar had been drinking some time,—my brief says, some hours. The company was gone, but there happened some words between the noble Lord the prisoner at the bar and one Humphreys, something more than words ; for,” continued Jocelyn, “according to my instructions, the noble Lord the prisoner at the bar twice attempted to draw his sword, but could not do it. He was then in a passion, and suddenly left the room ; and was going either out of doors or to the kitchen. It was then he met this poor man in the passage, and pushed him with his right hand, and the deceased went on to the kitchen, whither the



Lord the prisoner followed him, and swore he would kill any man that should speak a word. The poor man spoke, and the noble Lord the prisoner at the bar too punctually performed what he had so rashly sworn, and stabbed him. Upon this the man went into a room near the kitchen, stayed but a little while, and came back into the kitchen; the blood gushed out of the wound, the man fell down and cried out, 'I am killed.' Upon this the noble Lord the prisoner, going out hastily, took his horse, and gave the man of the house a four-pound piece, but gave him no order what to do." Murphy died on the 25th of September, in Hammond-lane, Dublin. Lord Santry's defence was that his death had been caused by disease.

A letter written from Dublin by Dr. Thomas Rundle, Bishop of Derry, contains the following notice of this trial:—

"Poor Lord Santry was tried on Friday by his peers. I never beheld a sight so awful and majestic and dreadfully beautiful in my life; and nothing was ever performed with so much solemnity, silence, and dignity before in any country. The finest room in Europe filled with the nobility and gentry of the whole kingdom and both sexes; the High Steward, every one of the Judges; the Lords the triers; and the noble prisoner, young and handsome, most decent in his behaviour, and with a becoming fortitude in his speaking,—could not but compose the most affecting scene. All were so attentive that silence was not once proclaimed. The King's counsel did admirably; but Bowes [the Solicitor-General] had an opportunity to show himself to the highest advantage. I always thought him an admirable speaker; but never imagined him half so great a man as I do at present, though I always loved and esteemed him. He did not use one severe word against the unhappy Lord, nor omitted one severe observation that truth could dictate. I never heard, never

read, so perfect a piece of eloquence. Its beauty arose from true simplicity and unaffected ornaments; from the strength and light of his reason, the fairness and candour and good nature of his heart; from the order and disposition of what he said, the elegance and fulness of his expressions, the shortness and propriety of his reflections, the music of his voice, and the gracefulness of his elocution. They were all wonderful indeed; and charmed even those who were concerned and grieved at his most masterly performance. But if they did well, I think the counsel for the prisoner acted detestably. They only prompted him to ask a few treacherous questions, and spoke not one word in his favour; though I have the vanity almost to think I could have offered a point of law that would have bid fair to save him. When the twenty-three Peers returned to give their opinion, their countenances astonished the whole House; and all knew, from the horror of their eyes and the paleness of their looks, how they were agitated within before they answered the dread question—'Guilty, upon my honour;' and he was so most certainly, according to the law: nor could they perhaps have brought in their dreadful verdict otherwise."

The Peers unanimously recommended Lord Santry to the royal mercy, which being seconded by the Lord Lieutenant, the King granted him a reprieve, and subsequently a full pardon.

Four years after Lord Santry's trial, Nicholas, fifth Viscount Netterville, was indicted at the Parliament House for the murder of Michael Walsh, in the county of Meath.

At 8 a.m., on the 3rd February, 1743, the Lords assembled in their robes, and at 9 the trial commenced, the following Peers being present:—Robert Jocelyn, Baron Newport, Chancellor and Lord High Steward; the Earls of Kildare, Clanrickard, Antrim, Roscommon, Meath, Cavan, Drogheda, Mount Alexan-

der, Ross, Londonderry, Bessborough; Viscounts Valentia, Mayo, Strangford, Ikerrin, Massareene, Mountjoy, Molesworth, Boyne, Allen, Lanesborough; the Archbishops of Armagh, Dublin, and Tuam; the Bishops of Meath, Kildare, Limerick, Dromore, Cork, Elphin, Killala, Clonfert, Waterford, Derry, Down, Ossory, Killaloe; Lords Athenry, Kingsale, Blayney, Kingston, Tullamore, Southwell, Castle Durrow, and Desart.

“After prayers had been read, William Hawkins, Esq., Deputy to Ulster King-of-Arms of all Ireland, being permitted to come to the table, the House was called over by the Clerk of the Parliaments; the Deputy King-of-Arms marking such of the Lords as were present in a list. Then the House, according to order, was adjourned into the Court appointed for the trial of Nicholas Lord Viscount Netterville, whither the officers, attendants, Peers’ sons, minor Peers and Lords, went in the order directed, the Deputy King-of-Arms calling them in their due places by a list.

“When the Lords were seated on their proper benches, and the Lord High Steward upon the woolpack, the House was resumed. The Clerks of the Crown presented the commission upon their knees to the Lord High Steward. Then proclamation was made for silence; and all the Lords standing uncovered, the commission was read. Which being ended, the Sergeant-at-Arms said, ‘God bless the King’s Majesty.’

“Then the Deputy King-of-Arms and the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod presented the staff, on their knees, to his Grace the Lord High Steward. Proclamation was made for all persons but Peers to be uncovered. The certiorari was then read by the Clerk of the Crown of the King’s Bench.

“Then the Lord High Steward removed from the woolpack to the chair appointed for his Grace, which was placed upon an

ascent, just before the uppermost step of the throne, and seated himself in the chair.

“Proclamation was made for bringing the prisoner to the bar, according to the order of the House of Lords, and he being come, and kneeling, his Grace the Lord High Steward desired his Lordship to rise, and acquainted him on what account he was brought thither, and that he had it in command from the Lords to let his Lordship know that he was not to hold up his hand at the bar, and that his Lordship and all other persons who might have occasion to speak to the Court were to address themselves to the Lords in general, and not to the Lord High Steward.

“Then the Clerk of the Crown of the King’s Bench read the indictment, and after his Lordship was arraigned, he was asked ‘whether he was guilty of the felony, treason, and murder whereof he stands indicted, or not guilty?’ He said he was not guilty. And being asked by whom he would be tried, he said, by God and his peers.

“Proclamation was then made for the witnesses to be brought into court. Then Mr. Prime Sergeant Malone opened the indictment, and Mr. Attorney-General and Mr. Solicitor-General were likewise heard on his Majesty’s behalf.” Leave having been given to the Lords spiritual to withdraw, the trial proceeded; but owing to the death of the two principal witnesses, whose depositions were rejected in evidence, no case could be sustained against Lord Netterville, and the trial terminated as follows:—

“The Peers being come into the Court appointed for the trial, the House was resumed: and after proclamation for silence, the Lord High Steward said: ‘The House having heard all the evidence, the question was, whether Nicholas Lord Viscount Netter-

ville is guilty of the felony, treason, and murder, whereof he stands indicted, or not guilty?’

“Then the Lord High Steward stood up, and by a list called over every Peer then present by his name, beginning with the youngest Baron; and put the question to every Lord to know what his judgment was, Whether Nicholas Lord Viscount Netterville was guilty of the felony, treason, and murder, whereof he stands indicted, or not guilty? And the Lord to whom he called stood up in his place uncovered, and laying his right hand upon his breast, delivered his judgment:—‘Not guilty, upon my honour.’

“Then the Lord High Steward standing up, uncovered, putting his right hand upon his breast, said, ‘My Lord Viscount Netterville is not guilty, upon my honour;’ and then declared that their Lordships were unanimously of opinion that my Lord Viscount Netterville is not guilty of the felony, treason, and murder whereof he stands indicted.

“Then the Lord Viscount Netterville, being by order brought to the bar, the Lord High Steward let his Lordship know that he was indicted for the murder of Michael Walsh, and that having put himself upon his peers for his trial, he declared that the Peers by their judgement had unanimously found him not guilty of the felony, treason, and murder whereof he stood indicted; and that therefore his Lordship is discharged.

“And then the white staff being delivered to his Grace the Lord High Steward, he stood up, and holding it in both his hands, broke it in two, and then leaving the chair, came down to the woolpack, and said, ‘Is it your Lordships’ pleasure to adjourn the House of Peers?’ Which was agreed to by the House. The House being adjourned to the House of Peers, the Lords and the attendants went back in the same order as they came.”

In the Lords’ Committee-room of the Parliament House, the

Dublin Society, previous to taking possession of "Shaw's-court," held their meetings on every Thursday, except during the long vacation. Experiments relative to agricultural machinery were made here under their superintendence; these machines and models were deposited in the vaults, and the Society's Agricultural Museum at the Parliament House was open to the public on Monday and Thursdays, from 12 till 2 p.m.

On the occasion of the adjudication of the Society's premiums for proficiency in the fine arts, the performances of the various candidates were hung round a spacious room in the Parliament House; the boys were directed to sit at a large table and draw the figures or living models placed upon it. The drawings were divided by the judges into classes, according to their merits, and the young artists received premiums varying from a guinea to a crown.

The Lords' Committee-room was also used for the meetings of the Incorporated Society for promoting English Protestant schools in Ireland; and the "Physico-Historical Society," founded in 1748, "to make inquiries into the natural and civil history of the kingdom," assembled there on the first Monday of every month. The Society for the relief of Protestant strangers also met there, towards the middle of the last century. Book auctions were frequently held in the Coffee-room of the House of Lords.

Charles Lucas, an eminent Dublin apothecary, through political publications in 1748, protested more pertinaciously than either Molyneux or Swift against tolerating the right assumed by England to legislate for Ireland. Lucas denounced Poyning's Act as unconstitutional, and declared that the imposition of laws made in a "strange, a foreign Parliament," without their consent or

knowledge, placed Protestants in Ireland under a more severe bondage than the Israelites suffered in Egypt.

"It must now be confessed," wrote Lucas, "that there was no general rebellion in Ireland since the first British invasion, that was not raised or fomented by the oppression, instigation, evil influence, or connivance of the English governors."

Lucas averred that he disdained the thought of being the representative of a people who dared not be free, and called on his fellow-citizens to demand a repeal or abolition of the unjust and oppressive statutes, adding that they could not, consistently with their duty to their God, their King, and country, themselves and their posterity, relinquish the claim to their birthright—liberty. "Though it may," he added, "be by unjust superior force for a while suppressed, you are not, like spurious sons and dastards, to be discouraged, and, by abandoning, suffer it to be extinguished. No; you are to pursue and cherish it; and then, you may be assured, it must, sooner or later, work your deliverance."

When Lucas, in 1749, became a candidate for the representation of the city of Dublin, with every prospect of success, the House of Commons declared by resolution, that his writings were seditious, and that he was an enemy to his country. They addressed the Viceroy to direct the Attorney-General to prosecute Lucas, and to have him committed as a close prisoner to Newgate. They also ordered an engraver to be imprisoned for having advertised the intended publication of a portrait of Lucas.

These proceedings irritated many citizens and members of guilds in Dublin, who regarded Lucas as their benefactor. In much excitement they crowded the entrance to the House of Commons while proceedings of the members in reference to Lucas were in progress.

IV.



HENRY BOYLE.



THE  
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TILLY

To avoid the loathsome incarceration designed for him in Newgate, Lucas, at the instance of friends, withdrew to the Continent, and devoted himself to the study of medicine.

Between 1749 and 1751 upwards of £2,000 were expended in various repairs of the Parliament House. The seats in the House of Lords were covered with red, and the benches of the Commons with green cloth.

The first serious dissension between the Government and the Parliament in Ireland originated in a contest for power between the Protestant Primate, George Stone, head of the English interest, and Henry Boyle, Speaker of the House of Commons, seconded by the Prime Sergeant, Anthony Malone. A considerable surplus of revenue remaining in the Exchequer in Ireland, the Commons, in 1749, prepared a bill enacting that the amount should go towards the discharge of the National Debt in Ireland. The British Cabinet, resenting what it considered an assumption by the Legislature in Ireland of the right to apply the unappropriated fund without the previous consent of the Crown, directed the Duke of Dorset, on his return as Viceroy in 1751, to acquaint the Parliament that the King would consent to the suggested allocation. The Commons, in their bill for the application of £120,000 of the surplus, specially omitted all mention of the Royal Prerogative, and the document was consequently sent back altered in the preamble by an insertion of his Majesty's consent and recommendation, in which form it was passed at once by the House; the "Patriot" members desiring to avoid divisions while directing their energies against the English interest in the person of Arthur Jones Nevill, the Government Surveyor and Engineer-General. Having passed a resolution in March, 1752, that many of the barracks erected, rebuilt, or repaired under the direction of Nevill, were extremely ill

executed, unfit for the reception and dangerous to the health of troops, they voted that he should, at his own expense and without any further charge to the public, be obliged to cause the several contractors whom he had employed, to make good the defects in the barracks, and finish them in the most effectual manner.

On the 9th of October, 1753, when Parliament again assembled, the Duke of Dorset, in opening the session, stated that he was commanded by the King to acquaint the House that he would graciously consent and recommend that so much of the money remaining in his Treasury as was necessary should be applied to the discharge of the National Debt, or of such part of it as they thought expedient. In their bill for the application of a further portion of the surplus, the Commons again omitted the word "consent," as well as the compliments to the King, usually embodied in the preambles of such documents. These omissions were supplied by the Ministry, who sent back the bill with the following alteration: "And your Majesty, ever attentive to the ease and happiness of your faithful subjects, has been graciously pleased to signify that you would consent to recommend it to us, that so much of the money remaining in your Majesty's Treasury as should be necessary, be applied to the discharge of the National Debt, or such part thereof as should be thought expedient by Parliament."

In November, 1753, Colonel Richard Boyle moved that Arthur Jones Nevill, late Engineer and Surveyor-General, in not complying with the resolutions of the House, had acted in manifest contempt of its authority. The motion, being the foundation for Nevill's expulsion from his seat in Parliament, occasioned a debate which lasted till 10 p. m., when the "English interest" was defeated by a majority of eight votes—the numbers being, Ayes, 124; Noes, 116.

On the 14th of the following December the altered money bill was brought to the House; on the 16th it was read a second time, and the alterations which had been made in it reported by a Committee. The House, on the 17th of December, went into committee, and agreed to all the enacting paragraphs and title, but disapproved of the preamble of the bill, which they rejected by a majority of five—Government having 117, and the Opposition 122 votes.

This debate lasted nine hours; when the result of the division, which took place late at night, was announced, thousands of people who had crowded round the Parliament House rent the air with acclamations, conducted the "Patriot" members home in triumph; and numbers bearing torches and sheaves of burning furze on pitchforks marched before the Speaker's carriage through streets blazing with bonfires, while the bells of the city rang out joyful peals for the defeat of the English interest.

To commemorate this Parliamentary achievement gold medals were struck, bearing on the obverse the legend—"Utcunque ferent ea facta minores vincit amor Patriæ." In the centre stands Hibernia, with a harp in her left hand; behind her another figure holds a distaff, emblematic of the linen trade of Ireland. On her right stands another female, grasping her hand, and holding in her right hand a roll inscribed "Leges." To her left is the Speaker of the House of Commons, in his robes, placing a cap of liberty on her head, and holding in his left hand a heavy bag, inscribed "Vindicata;" behind him three senators step out from a portico. Over the figures is "Fame," flying, and blowing a trumpet; a banner appended is inscribed "cxxiv." "Fame" holds in her left hand a ribbon or band bearing the inscription, "Ergo tua jura manebunt. On the exergue are two naked human figures: one, with the head of a bird of

prey, clutching at a quantity of money scattered on the ground, guarded by the other, with the head of a wolf, and loosed from a chain fastened to a rock; behind them are some open rolls. The legend on the reverse reads: "Quique sui Memores alios fecere merendo." Across the field: "Sacrum—Senatoribus cxxiv. . . Qui Tenaces Præpositi—Fortiter ac Prudenter—Jura Patriæ Rite—Vindicarunt xvii—Die Decembris Æræ—Christianæ MDCLLIII.—Quocirca Vivite—Fortes." Another medal and medallet, both of similar type, were also struck upon this occasion: obverse, "The Speaker and Liberty," bust, three-quarters face to the left, in wig and robe of office; reverse, "The 124 Patriots of Ireland;" in the field a harp with the royal crown over it; exergue, December 17, 1753.

Most of the members who on this question sided with the Speaker were soon dismissed from such offices as they held under the Crown, and the surplus in the Exchequer was by the King's letter transferred to London, where the British Ministers expended it in purchasing English boroughs to make good their interest at the ensuing elections. To prevent a recurrence of a similar appropriation, the Parliament in Ireland took measures to apply every future surplus to local public improvements; the leaders of the Commons thus insured the fidelity of their subalterns, and by necessitating the Crown to call for the supplies, made their own political services necessary for the support of the Government.

"The question of 1753 was," it has been observed, "the beginning, in this country, of that constitutional spirit which asserted afterwards the privilege of the Commons, and guarded and husbanded the essential right of a free Constitution. The question was of its very essence; but the effect spread beyond the question, and the ability of the debate instructed the nation,

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ANTHONY MALONE.

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and made her not only tenacious of her rights, but proud of her understanding. There might have been party, there might have been faction, mixing with a great public principle; so it was in the time of Ship-money; so it was in the Revolution. In these instances the private motive mixed with the public cause: but still it was the cause of the public, and the cause of liberty."

The House of Commons of Ireland acquired new importance so rapidly from the transactions of 1753, that a borough sold in the succeeding year for three times the price paid for it in 1750.

The "Patriot" party fell into popular disrepute when its leaders, Anthony Malone and Henry Boyle, entered into terms with the Government, which created the latter Earl of Shannon, with an annual pension of two thousand pounds. The Speakership, vacated by Boyle, was, without a division, conferred by the Commons, in 1756, on John Ponsonby, son of the Earl of Bessborough.

A report having gained circulation in Dublin, in 1759, that the Parliament contemplated passing an Act of Union with Great Britain, the populace became riotous, and beset the entrance to the House of Commons. The Viceroy's Secretary, Richard Rigby, notorious for his dissolute life, came forth, and assured them that there were no grounds for their apprehensions. The people refusing to take his word, Ponsonby, the Speaker, was obliged to go out and pacify them; and Rigby having made a declaration in the House that if a Bill of Union were brought in, he would vote against it, the tumult subsided, and the crowds dispersed.

Their former suspicions were soon afterwards revived by a motion brought forward by Rigby, that the Lord Lieutenant might, on an emergency, such as an invasion,



summon the Parliament to meet without an interval of forty days. This motion being interpreted as preparatory to a sudden scheme of Union before measures could be taken to oppose it, the people, on the 3rd December, 1759, rose in all parts of Dublin, and possessing themselves of the avenues to the Parliament House, laid hands upon the members, obliging them to take an oath to be true to Ireland, and to vote against a Union. Rowley, a rich Presbyterian, was seized, stripped, and threatened with drowning. They pulled off Lord Inchiquin's periwig and red ribbon. On his stuttering, from an impediment in his speech, when the oath was put to him, they cried, "Damn you! do you hesitate?" but, hearing that his name was O'Brien, their rage was changed to acclamations. The English Bishop of Killala, and John Bowes, the English Lord Chancellor of Ireland, were dragged out of their coaches, and obliged to take the oath; but the mob being struck with the idea that their administration of it might not be considered binding, they stopped the Chief Justice, and made the Chancellor renew the oath in his presence. Although Anthony Malone took the engagement, the people were so disgusted at his having lapsed from a "Patriot" leader into a Government pensioner, that one of the ringleaders dipped his fist in the channel before he would shake hands with him. Sir Thomas Prendergast, one of a family long in bad odour with the populace, being caught looking out from the House of Lords, was pulled forth by the nose, and rolled in the kennel. Finding Lord Farnham taking the oaths on the death of his father, the people obliged him to take theirs: and, as a practical satire on the political imbecility of the Peers, they placed an old woman on the throne in the House of Lords, and sent for pipes and tobacco for her. Proceeding to the House of Commons, they ordered the Clerk to bring the Journals to

burn, but altered their intention on his telling them that they would thus destroy the only records of the defeat of the English interests in 1753. The greatest fury of the mob was directed against Rigby, recently appointed Master of the Rolls; they prepared a gallows, and determined to hang him, which he escaped by being out of town. The Duke of Bedford, then Viceroy, sent to the Lord Mayor to quell the disturbance; but he excused himself on the grounds of there being no Riot Act in Ireland. The Privy Council was then summoned, on the advice of which, a troop of horse was despatched against the mob, with orders not to fire; and by riding amongst them, with their swords drawn, they succeeded in dispersing the rioters, after having killed fifteen or sixteen persons.

On the day after these disturbances, the Commons passed resolutions declaring that the assaulting, insulting, or menacing any member of the House on his coming to or going from it, or upon the account of his behaviour in Parliament, was a high infringement of their privileges, a most outrageous and dangerous violation of the rights of Parliament, and a high crime and misdemeanour. Mr. Rowley and others were appointed as a Committee to endeavour to find out the names and places of abode of the rioters; to draw up an address of thanks to the Lord Lieutenant for his reasonable interposition in using the most effectual means to disperse a dangerous and insolent multitude of people assembled before the Parliament House in order, illegally and audaciously, to obstruct and insult the members of both Houses of Parliament, attending the public service of the nation; and to request his Excellency to offer a reward for the discovery of any of the mob or their abettors. The Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of the city were examined at the bar, and admonished by the Speaker to strictly observe the orders relative to

keeping the avenues leading to the House free and open, and preventing riotous assemblies.

“Refinement of language,” we are told, “was not to be found in Parliament at this time, nor for many years preceding. So far from it, an unlettered style, almost approaching to coarseness and vulgarity, was the only one permitted by the House of Commons. Some of the old members (such is the force of habit) insisted that business could not be carried on in any other, and the young members, till Mr. Hutchinson appeared, would not venture to contradict them. The genuine business of the House always remained in the hands of a few, but Parliamentary speaking was, in those days, confined also to a few, the Secretary, the leading Commissioners of the Revenue, the Attorney-General, and one or two Commissioners, grave Sergeants-at-law, men of sterile and almost interminable rhetoric. If a contested election, or some such question, called forth the exertions of the gentlemen last mentioned, they never thought of closing their speeches till repeated hints from their party obliged them so to do. If, to the dismay of the House, they rose near midnight, they were as certain, though sad, harbingers of day, as the ‘bird of dawn-ing’ ever was. The House was astonished at the laborious constancy of such men, and often resigned all speaking to them, in a kind of absolute despair.”

A classical idiom was first introduced into the House of Commons of Ireland by John Hely Hutchinson, who entered Parliament in 1759, the same year in which his political opponent, Henry Flood, was first elected.

Charles Lucas was, in 1761, elected Member of Parliament for the city of Dublin, having returned from London, where as a physician he acquired considerable wealth, and received kindly consideration from the King.



**HENRY FLOOD** Esq.  
*Member for the Borough of Kibbeggan*

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The first printed reports of debates in the Irish Parliament were those for the years 1763 and 1764, published from memory by Sir James Caldwell, comprising the discussions concerning the grant of pensions on the civil list, and the sums necessary for the military establishment in time of peace; the address to the King on the Peace; the insurrections in the North; the residence of the clergy; the publication of libels; and the limitation of the duration of Parliaments. The principal speakers in these debates were, Edmund Sexten Pery, Francis Andrews, Dr. Charles Lucas, Anthony Malone, John Hely Hutchinson, Henry Flood, Philip Tisdal, John Fitzgibbon, Sir Richard Cox, and William Gerard Hamilton. "These debates," observed their reporter, "were carried on with the deepest penetration, the most extensive knowledge, and the most forcible eloquence. I flatter myself that, notwithstanding the injury they may have suffered in my hands, they will discover abilities in the speakers that would do honour to any age and any nation; and that, notwithstanding their different situations, and the different circumstances in which the business of Parliament is transacted, their speeches will not suffer by a comparison even with those of the Senate of Great Britain. In Ireland," added Sir James Caldwell, "the debates are confined to subjects that principally relate to its interior interest; the Parliament assembles but six months in a revolution of two years; and indispensable attendance on the Courts of Law prevents many members from being constantly present, and the whole number is comparatively few. These circumstances considered, the spirit of these debates will do yet greater honour to the speakers, both with respect to their principles and their abilities." Although English critics thought that Sir James Caldwell's Reports placed oratory in Ireland in a very favourable point of view, people in Dublin considered that

justice was not done in them to any of the speakers except those of the middle class; the third class being made to speak too well, but the first not well enough.

Five engravings illustrative of the Parliament House were published in 1767 by Bernard Scalé, of Dublin, with a dedication to the Lords and to the members of the House of Commons. These plates, of which reduced reproductions appear in the present publication, are as follow: Perspective view; geometrical elevation; section of the House of Lords; section of the House of Commons; plan of the Parliament House.

The allowance to the Speaker of the House of Commons in Ireland was advanced by successive augmentations, till in 1765 it, with the emoluments connected with the office, amounted to four thousand five hundred pounds per annum, with a sum of five hundred pounds for each session.

In addition to his receipts as Speaker, Ponsonby held the highly-paid office of Commissioner of the Revenue. He, with Lord Shannon, through their extensive family and political connexions, controlled the returns of members for many constituencies, and they were thus able to promote or obstruct Governmental measures. Attempts to subvert the influence of the Speaker, Ponsonby, and his followers were made by George Viscount Townshend, appointed Lord Lieutenant in 1767. The most effective step in that direction was the passing, in 1768, of an act limiting to eight years the duration of Parliament, which had previously continued during the entire lifetime of the reigning monarch.

After having been discussed from 1761 to 1768, the Octennial Bill was assented to by the Privy Council at London, to the surprise and chagrin of those of the Commons at Dublin, who, to maintain their popularity with the people, had supported it pub-

licly in the House, conceiving that Government would never permit it to pass.

On this subject Lord Charlemont, a member of the House of Lords in Ireland, has left the following particulars:—

“On the day when this unexpected account arrived from England I happened to dine with Mr. Ponsonby, then Speaker of the House of Commons, and the principal ‘undertaker’ for Government. The company was numerous. His English letters were brought to him while we were yet at table. He opened them. His countenance fell. He turned pale, and it was visible to everyone that some fatal news had been received. ‘What is the matter?’ By heavens, the Limitation Bill is returned, and Parliament is dissolved. Never did I see in one group so many doleful faces nor, to me, so laughable a sight. I presently left the company, where I was the only person pleased. Care was now taken that the public exultation should be made manifest, and the city of Dublin was one continued bonfire. The country was also immediately informed that the favourite law was returned, and the whole kingdom resounded with acclamation.

“The bill was now brought back to the House of Commons, where the real sentiments and wishes of the majority were evidently and comically visible in their embarrassed countenances. Detesting the measure with all their hearts, and sensible that in passing it they voted against all their darling interests, they saw in the exultation of the people the imminent danger of rejection in the present stage, and were forced by their fears into an apparently heroic act of self-denial, a virtue which they had never before practised, and which was, of all others, the most foreign to their hearts. But the people were assembled in crowds at the doors. Their shouts were heard within the walls. The danger passed, and cowardice assumed the semblance of virtue.



Thus did the bill pass the Commons, and was sent up to the Lords, where it was received with undissembled joy—not from any spark of public principle—my brethren were, I fear, incapable of it—but as many of their Lordships were possessed of boroughs, the octennial sale of this precious commodity appeared to them a circumstance most highly gratifying, and they saw with pleasure an increase of dependency in what was usually styled their following. The few real patriotic friends of the measure found, therefore, no difficulty to get the bill read thrice on the same day.”

The first session of an octennial Parliament was opened at Dublin in October, 1769. A money bill transmitted from the Parliament at Dublin to London having been returned with alterations, the House appointed a committee of comparison, which reported three positive and substantial changes, in the matter of supply, relative to duties on cottons, British herrings, and foreign diapers. The Commons rejected the altered bill, but on the same day prepared and passed heads of a bill under a different title, yet as nearly as possible of the same import with that which they had thrown out, their object being to show that the rejection was not on account of any particular objection to the nature of the changes, but solely because it was an altered money bill. Woodfall, in his London “Public Advertiser,” published strictures on these proceedings, reflecting on the Irish Parliament, and proposing the dissolution of this “factious, obstinate, provincial assembly,” and the voting of the supplies by the English Legislature. This publication was declared libellous by the Irish Commons, on whose order the paper was burned by the common hangman before the gate of the Parliament House, in the presence of the Sheriffs of Dublin, amidst the shouts of a crowd

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JOHN PONSONBY

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of spectators. Lord Townshend, unable to procure a majority in the House, prorogued the Parliament, having protested against its rejection of the money bill; but the Commons ordered their Clerk not to permit the Viceroy's protest to be entered on their journals. Townshend, however, succeeded in having it enrolled in the records of the House of Peers. Parliament was not again summoned in Ireland till 1771, when, by a majority of 27 of the Commons, a vote was passed for an address thanking the King for continuing Lord Townshend in the Viceroyalty.

The Speaker, John Ponsonby, who had been removed from the Commissionership of the Revenue, became apprehensive of further losses in consequence of his opposition to Government. He addressed a letter to the House, reminding it that on the last day of the last session the Lord Lieutenant had accused the Commons of the great crime of entrenching upon the King's royal power and authority, and the just and undoubted rights of the Crown of Great Britain. "As," added Ponsonby, "it has pleased the House of Commons to take the first opportunity after this transaction, of testifying their approbation of his Excellency, by voting him an address of thanks this session; and as the delivery of such approbation to his Excellency is incidental to the office of Speaker, I beg leave to inform you that, as such thanks seem to me to convey a censure of the proceedings, and a relinquishment of the privileges of the Commons, my respect to them must prevent my being the instrument of delivering such address; and therefore I request you may elect another Speaker, who may not think such conduct inconsistent with his honour."

For the Speakership there were two candidates, the Right Honorable William Brownlow, member for the county of Armagh, and Edmund Sexten Pery, member for Limerick, who had the support of Government. Of the election, which took place on the

7th of March, 1771, a member who was present wrote: "The candidates stood on each side of the [Speaker's] chair, Mr. Pery on the right, and Mr. Brownlow upon the left, pale as death with expectation. Upon counting the House it was carried in favour of Mr. Pery, 118 to 114, and the Clerk declared Mr. Pery duly elected Speaker. Mr. Speaker elect was taken out of his place by Sir George Macartney and Mr. Fitzgibbon, who led him from the bar of the House up to the chair, where, upon the first step of the chair, he made a short speech to the House and thanked them for the honour they had done him, and afterwards sat down in the chair; and then the mace, which lay before under the table, was laid upon the table."

Dr. Charles Lucas, previously mentioned, who sat in this Parliament as a representative of the city of Dublin, was regarded by the people as an incorruptible and consistent opponent of Governmental intrigues. A writer of the time observed that Lucas annexed a species of dignity to himself in the House of Commons, which was not without its effect. His infirmities, for he was always carried into and out of the House, being so enfeebled by the gout that he could scarcely stand for a moment; the gravity and uncommon neatness of his dress, his grey and venerable locks blending with a pale but interesting countenance, in which an air of beauty was still visible, altogether excited attention, and I never saw a stranger come into the House without asking who he was. The surest proof of his being in some way or other formidable to ministers was the constant abuse of him in their papers."

Lucas died in November, 1771. At his funeral, which was attended by vast numbers, the Speaker and members of the House of Commons, opposed to Government, walked in the procession through the Dublin streets.

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IX.





THE MUSEUM OF  
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Benjamin Franklin, in a letter written in January, 1772, to Thomas Cushing, gave the following account of a visit to the Parliament House, Dublin, in the preceding year :

“ Their Parliament makes a most respectable figure, with a number of very good speakers in both parties and able men of business. And I ought not to omit acquainting you, that it being a standing rule to admit members of the English Parliament to sit (though they do not vote in the House among the members), while others are only admitted into the gallery, my fellow-traveller, being an English member, was accordingly admitted as such, but I supposed I must have gone to the gallery, when the Speaker [Pery] having been spoken to by some of the members, stood up and acquainted the members that there was in town an American gentleman of character, a member or delegate of some of the Parliaments of that country, who was desirous of being present at the debates of this House ; that there was a standing rule of the House for admitting members of the English Parliament ; that he did suppose the House would consider the American Assemblies as English Parliaments, but this being the first instance, he had chosen not to give any order without receiving their directions. On the question, the whole House gave a loud unanimous Aye, when two members came to me without the bar where I was standing, led me in and placed me very honorably. This, I am the more particular in to you, as I esteemed it a mark of respect for our country and a piece of politeness, in which I hope our Parliament will not fall behind theirs whenever an occasion shall offer. Ireland is itself a poor country, and Dublin a magnificent city ; but the appearances of general extreme poverty among the lower people are amazing. They live in wretched hovels of mud and straw, are clothed in rags, and subsist chiefly on potatoes. Our

New England farmers, of the poorest sort, in regard to the enjoyment of all the comforts of life are princes when compared to them. Such is the effect of the discouragement of industry, the non-residence not only of pensioners, but of many original landlords, who lease their lands in grass to undertakers that rack the tenants, and fleece them skin and all to make estates to themselves, while the first rents, as well as most of the pensions, are spent out of the country."

Franklin did not refer to the relations between the Parliament in Ireland and the Government in London. By the power assumed by the English Privy Council of rejecting or altering bills originating in the Parliament of Ireland, "the Attorney-General of England, with a dash of his pen, could reverse, alter, or entirely do away the matured result of all the eloquence and all the abilities of this whole assembly."

"The inconsistency of this was illustrated by a bill returned to Ireland altered in seventy-four places, which had been successively revised by Lord Thurlow, when Attorney-General, Lord Roselyne, when Solicitor-General, and Mr. MacNamara, a chamber counsel. The bill, so metamorphosed, was rejected by the Commons of Ireland. These various corrections by an English, Scotch, and Irish lawyer, were of serious consequence to Government. The temporary duties of Ireland expired in a few days after the rejection of the bill. Several weeks elapsed before a money bill could be perfected, sent over to England, returned, and approved by the Irish Commons and Lords, and in the interim the merchants imported duty free. The Commissioners of the Revenue, though no law existed by which they could levy the duties, seized the goods, and lodged them in the King's stores. The merchants replevied, the Commissioners opposed the Sheriffs of Dublin, who raised the *posse comitatus*,

broke open the stores, and the goods were conveyed to the merchants' houses in triumph."

In the House of Peers, of which he was a member, Lord Charlemont hoped to have received support towards carrying out his views to benefit Ireland, by emancipating her from the control of the Parliament of England. He found, however, that the personages of which the House of Peers was composed were—of all the members of the community—the least tenacious of their constitutional rights, and the most of their private interest. Of the spirit which prevailed in the House of Peers in Ireland at this time, Lord Charlemont has recorded the following instance:

"As some slight alleviation of the suffering of the Roman Catholics, and to encourage the peasantry of this persuasion to benefit the country by building cottages, heads of a bill were prepared to enable them to take leases for ninety years of the tenement on which their cabin was to be built, and of a small portion of ground to serve as a potato garden.

"This bill had been repeatedly moved in the Commons, and repeatedly rejected. In 1772 I resolved to try it in the Lords, and so far prevailed as to get it read twice and committed—but all in vain. The House had hitherto been thinly attended, and to this circumstance I owed my success. But the trumpet of bigotry sounded the alarm. To give the wretched cottager a permanent holding in his miserable mud-built habitation was said to be an infringement on the penal code which threatened the destruction of Church and State. A cry was raised that the Protestant interest was in danger. The Lords were summoned to attend. The House was crowded with zealous supporters of orthodoxy and oppression, and I was voted out of the chair, not wholly unsuspected of being little better than a Papist."

Of many of the members of the Parliament in Ireland at this period, the following notice has been left by one of their contemporaries, who was a candidate for a seat in the House of Commons:—

“The seat of a Lord Lieutenant of the kingdom is besieged by men whose ready venality often outruns the wishes of Government, who, in addition to great present emolument, grasp at future and numerous reversions; who, not content with the highest offices in their own line, invade the offices of other men, thrust themselves into every department, civil, military and ecclesiastical, and into stations for which the whole tenor of their lives and studies has rendered them wholly unqualified; who accumulate place upon place, and sinecure upon sinecure; who are so eager to obtain the wages of the day before the day is well passed over their heads, that they have emphatically, and not improperly, been styled ready-money voters; men that nothing is too arbitrary or illegal for them to varnish by their eloquence or support by their vote; men who are resolved at any rate to aggrandize themselves, and care not how soon they subvert the Constitution of their country, if they can but erect the fabric of their own fortunes on its ruins.”

In December, 1775, Henry Grattan, in his twenty-ninth year, son of the Recorder of Dublin, took his seat in the House of Commons in Ireland, having been returned for the borough of Charlemont through the friendship of Lord Charlemont.

The first step towards the relaxation of the Penal Code was a statute passed, after much opposition, by the Parliament in Ireland in 1776, permitting Catholics to acquire an interest in the soil by allowing them to take leases for 999 years, and to purchase land, under certain restrictions.

The suppression of commerce and manufactures in Ireland

likely to interfere with British interests resulted in the pauperization of the people, and the bankruptcy of the Government at Dublin. The public revenue had become inadequate to pay the "infamous pensions to infamous men," with which it was burthened by the prodigality of the English Ministry.

The Government in 1778, having avowed its inability to protect the people against invasion, authorized Protestants in Ireland to form associations for national defence, and large numbers of armed volunteers were soon organized.

The war prevented emigration to America, and closed the principal market for Irish linens, while England, by embargoes, prohibited the export of provisions—almost the only trade allowed to exist in Ireland, which was thus reduced to a state of general poverty. The petitions of the people to Parliament were neglected. Grattan's motion, to lay before the King a full detail of the national distress, was negatived in the House of Commons at Dublin in February, 1778; and a recommendation from a Committee of the British Cabinet, to allow Ireland free exports and imports to a limited extent, was abandoned on the petition of some English manufacturing towns.

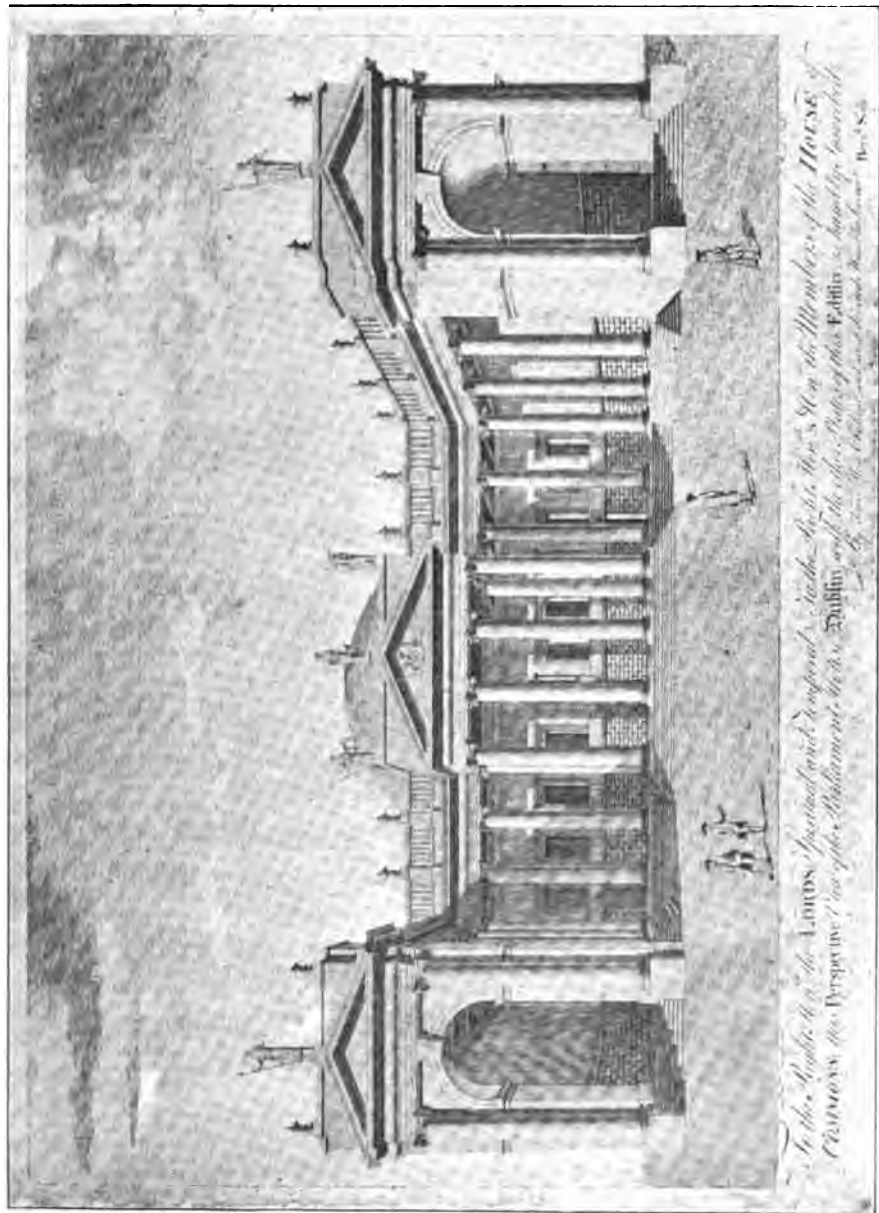
The speech delivered by the Viceroy, at the opening of the Parliament in Dublin on the 12th October, 1779, did not contain any reply to the addresses from Ireland for free trade. An amendment was moved by the Prime Sergeant, Hussey Burgh, and unanimously adopted,—“That we beg leave humbly to represent to his Majesty that it is not by temporary expedients, but by a free trade alone, that this nation is now to be saved from impending ruin.”

The address for free trade was carried to the Lord Lieutenant at the Castle by the members of the House of Commons;

the Volunteers, under the command of the Duke of Leinster, lined the streets, and presented arms to the Speaker and the Commons as they passed through their ranks, amidst the applause of an assembled multitude.

On the 15th of the following month, about eight thousand working manufacturers, mostly armed with swords and pistols, assembled before the Parliament House on College Green, and in the adjacent streets, crying, "A short money bill! a free trade! the rights of Ireland!" They stopped several members going to the House, and administered oaths to such as they suspected. A party went to the Attorney-General's house at Harcourt-place, but not meeting him at home, they broke a few of his windows and proceeded to the Four Courts, after which they returned to the Parliament House. Mischief being apprehended, a troop of horse was ordered to patrol the streets, and a party of Highlanders came to disperse the mob, but the latter remained resolutely determined to keep their ground. The Lord Mayor perceiving that any forcible attempts to disperse them might be attended with fatal consequences, dismissed the military, and, mildly addressing the populace, remonstrated on the impropriety of their proceedings, enjoining them to depart peaceably, as a more effectual mode to attain the ends universally wished for. Several popular members of Parliament and other gentlemen harangued them to the same effect, upon which they dispersed quietly. Five hundred pounds were offered by the Lord Lieutenant, at the request of Parliament, for the discovery of these rioters.

On the 24th of November, 1779, the supplies were stopped by 123 out of 170 members in the House carrying a resolution "that at this time it would be inexpedient to grant new taxes." A motion on the following day to grant the loan





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XI.



WALTER HUSSEY BURGH.

THE NATIONAL  
PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION  
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duties for only six months passed by a majority of 38 against the Government.

In this debate the Prime Sergeant, Walter Hussey Burgh, delivered an earnest oration in favour of the rights of Ireland:—

“The usurped authority of a foreign Parliament has kept up,” said Burgh, “the most wicked laws that a jealous, monopolizing, ungrateful spirit could devise to restrain the bounty of Providence, and enslave a nation whose inhabitants are recorded to be a brave, loyal, and generous people; by the English code of laws, to answer the most sordid views, they have been treated with a savage cruelty; the words penalty, punishment, and Ireland are synonymous; they are marked in blood on the margin of their statutes; and though time may have softened the calamities of the nation, the baneful and destructive influence of those laws have borne her down to a state of Egyptian bondage. The English have sown their laws like dragons’ teeth, and they have sprung up in armed men.”

The concluding passage, and the manner in which it was delivered, produced such a sensation that the House burst into applause, which was re-echoed for a considerable time by the occupants of the galleries. Several of the Government place-holders reprobated the clamour, and demanded that the galleries should be cleared, but the Attorney-General said that it would be severe were they to reprove that expression of applause which was an emanation of joy, inspiring a people possibly much distressed, and they could not blame them for the feelings of nature.

The non-consumption and non-importation of English manufactures, combined with the stoppage of supplies to the Crown, were soon followed by acts of Parliament, passed expeditiously at London, under which freedom of trade was granted to Ire-

land, thus "breaking in an hour the chain which had blocked up her harbours for ages."

The statement of the Minister, that the concession of free trade was revocable, indicated that the independence of the Legislature in Ireland could alone guarantee the commercial freedom of the country. Grattan, supported by eighteen counties, by the Grand Jury addresses, and the resolutions of the Volunteers, moved, in the House of Commons, on the 19th of April, 1780, a Declaration of Rights, for recovery of the supreme legislative power of which Parliament in Ireland had been so long deprived.

"If," said Grattan, "I had lived when the ninth of William took away the woollen manufacture, or when the sixth of George I. declared this country to be dependent and subject to laws to be enacted by the Parliament of England, I should have made a covenant with my own conscience to seize the first moment of rescuing my country from the ignominy of such acts of power; or, if I had a son, I should have administered to him an oath that he would consider himself as a person separate and set apart for the discharge of so important a duty. Upon the same principle am I now come to move a declaration of right, the first moment occurring, since my time, in which such a declaration could be made, with any chance of success, and without aggravation of oppression.

"Sir, it must appear to every person, that, notwithstanding the import of sugar and export of woollens, the people of this country are not satisfied—something remains; the greater work is behind; the public heart is not well at ease;—to promulgate our satisfaction; to stop the throats of millions with the votes of Parliament; to preach homilies to the Volunteers; to utter invectives against the people, under pretence of affectionate

advice, is an attempt weak, suspicious, and inflammatory. You cannot dictate to those whose sense you are intrusted to represent; your ancestors, who sat within these walls, lost to Ireland trade and liberty; you, by the assistance of the people, have recovered trade; you still owe the kingdom liberty; she calls upon you to restore it.

“The ground of public discontent seems to be, ‘We have gotten commerce, but not freedom:’ the same power which took away the export of woollens and the export of glass may take them away again; the repeal is partial, and the ground of repeal is upon a principle of expediency.—It is very true you may feed your manufacturers, and landed gentlemen may get their rents; and you may export woollens, and may load a vessel with baize, serges, and kerseys, and you may bring back again directly from the Plantations, sugar, indigo, specklewood, beetle-root and panellas—but liberty, the foundation of trade, the charters of the land, the independency of Parliament, the securing, crowning, and consummation of everything, are yet to come. Without them the work is imperfect, the foundation is wanting, the capital is wanting, trade is not free, Ireland is a colony without the benefit of a charter, and you are a provincial synod without the privileges of a Parliament.

“I,” continued Grattan, “read Lord North’s proposition; I wish to be satisfied, but I am controlled by a paper, I will not call it a law,—it is the sixth of George I. [The statute referred to at page 20 was here read.] I will ask the gentlemen of the long robe is this the law? I ask them whether it is not practice? I appeal to the Judges of the land whether they are not in a course of declaring that the Parliament of Great Britain, naming Ireland, binds her? I appeal to the magistrates of justice whether they do not, from time to time, execute certain acts of

the British Parliament? I appeal to the officers of the army whether they do not fine, confine, and execute their fellow-subjects by virtue of the Mutiny act, an act of the British Parliament? And I appeal to this House whether a country so circumstanced is free? Where is the freedom of trade? Where is the security of property? Where is the liberty of the people? I here, in this Declaratory act, see my country proclaimed a slave! I see every man in this House enrolled a slave! I see the Judges of the realm, the oracles of the law, borne down by an unauthorized foreign power, by the authority of the British Parliament, against the law! I see the magistrates prostrate, and I see Parliament witness of these infringements, and silent (silent, or employed to preach moderation to the people, whose liberties it will not restore). I therefore say, with the voices of three millions of people, that, notwithstanding the import of sugar, beetle-wood, and panellas, and the export of woollens and kerseys, nothing is safe, satisfactory, or honourable,—nothing except a declaration of right. What! are you, with three millions of men at your back, with charters in one hand, and arms in the other, afraid to say you are a free people? Are you, —the greatest House of Commons that ever sat in Ireland, that want but this one act to equal that English House of Commons that passed the Petition of Right,—are you afraid to tell that British Parliament you are a free people? Are the cities and the instructing counties, who have breathed a spirit that would have done honour to old Rome when Rome did honour to mankind,—are they to be free by connivance? Are the military associations, those bodies whose origin, progress, and deportment have transcended, equalled at least, anything in modern or ancient story,—is the vast line of northern army,—are they to be free by connivance? What man will settle among you?

Where is the use of the Naturalization bill? What man will settle among you? Who will leave a land of liberty and a settled government for a kingdom controlled by the Parliament of another country, whose liberty is a thing by stealth, whose trade is a thing by permission, whose Judges deny her charters, whose Parliament leaves everything at random; where the chance of freedom depends upon the hope that the Jury shall despise the Judge stating a British act, or a rabble stop the magistrate executing it, rescue your abdicated privileges, and save the Constitution by trampling on the Government, by anarchy and confusion."

After having pursued the subject through its various details, Grattan concluded as follows:—

"I might, as a constituent, come to your bar and demand my liberty. I do call upon you, by the laws of the land and their violation, by the instruction of eighteen counties, by the arms, inspiration, and providence of the present moment, tell us the rule by which we shall go,—assert the law of Ireland,—declare the liberty of the land. I will not be answered by a public lie, in the shape of an amendment; neither, speaking for the subjects' freedom, am I to hear of faction. I wish for nothing but to breathe, in this our island, in common with my fellow-subjects, the air of liberty. I have no ambition, unless it be the ambition to break your chain and contemplate your glory. I never will be satisfied so long as the meanest cottager in Ireland has a link of the British chain clanking to his rags—he may be naked—he shall not be in iron; and I do see the time is at hand, the spirit is gone forth, the declaration is planted; and though great men should apostatize, yet the cause will live; and though the public speaker should die, yet the immortal fire shall outlast the organ which conveyed it, and the



breath of liberty, like the word of the holy man, will not die with the prophet, but survive him."

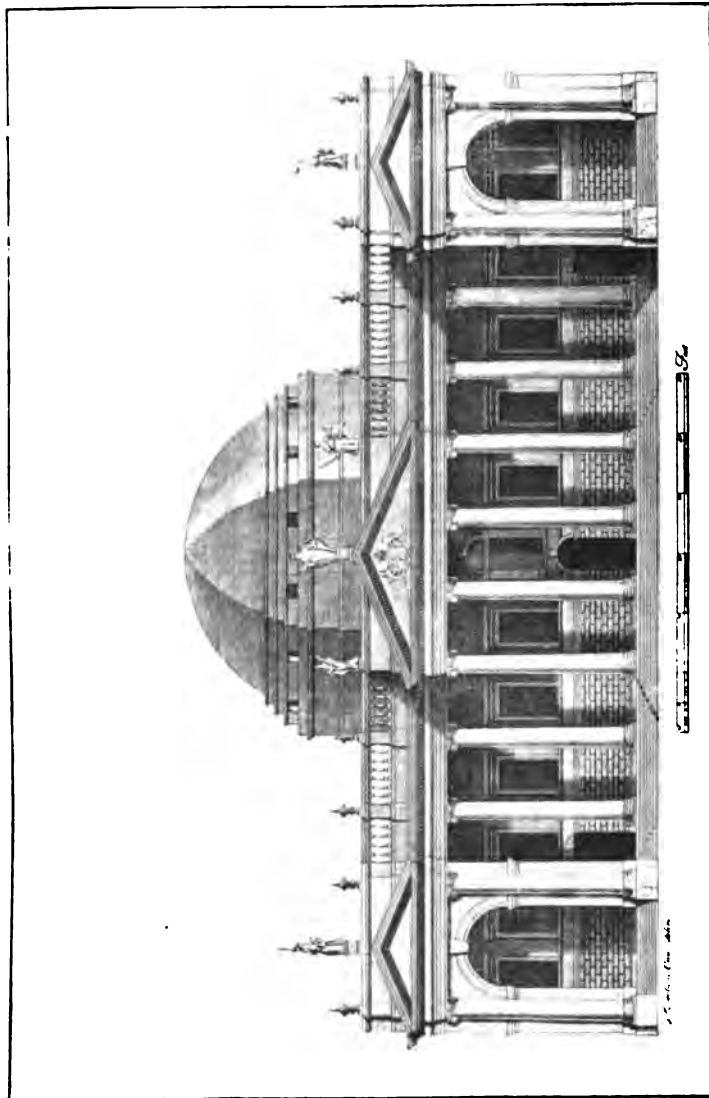
The House was said to have been astonished by the fire and eloquence of this speech, combined with the singular but effective style in which it was delivered. After a debate of fourteen hours, terminating at half-past six in the morning, the motion was negatived, but the sense of the House was nearly unanimous against any claims for binding Ireland by English Acts of Parliament.

The convention of armed Volunteers, assembled at Dungannon on the 15th of February, 1782, passed resolutions declaring the claim of the English Parliament to make laws for Ireland to be unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance. Grattan, on the 14th of March, in the Irish House of Commons, announced that he would bring forward the question of Right, and carried the following resolution of summons:—"Ordered, that this House be called over on Tuesday, the 16th of April next, and that the Speaker do write circular letters to the members, ordering them to attend that day, as they tender the rights of the Irish Parliament."

The Ministers requested an adjournment of the question of Independence. Lord Charlemont and Grattan declined to postpone measures which they considered public property.

"Early on the 16th of April, 1782," writes Barrington, "the great street before the House of Parliament was thronged by a multitude of people, of every class, and of every description, though many hours must elapse before the House would meet, or business be proceeded on.

"As it was a circumstance which seldom takes place on the eve of remarkable events, it becomes a proper subject of remark, that though more than many thousands of people,



*The Geometrical Elevation of the Parliament House Dublin*  
*Published by Authority of the Government of the Kingdom of Ireland, in the Year 1840, by James Smith, Architect.*

THE  
PUBLIC  
ASTOR, LENOX  
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS

inflamed by the most ardent zeal, were assembled in a public street—without any guide, restraint, or control, save the example of the Volunteers—not the slightest appearance of tumult was observable; on the contrary, such perfect order prevailed that not even an angry word or offensive expression escaped their lips. Nothing could more completely prove the good disposition of the Dublin populace than this correctness of demeanour, at a time when they had been taught that the very existence of their trade and manufactures, and consequently the future subsistence of themselves and their families, was to be decided by the conduct of their representatives that very evening; and it was gratifying to see that those who were supposed, or even proved to have been their decided enemies, were permitted to pass through this immense assemblage, without receiving the slightest token of incivility, and with the same ease as those who were known to be their determined friends.

“The Parliament had been summoned to attend this momentous question by an unusual and special call of the House; and by 4 o’clock a full meeting took place. The body of the House of Commons was crowded with its members; a great proportion of the Peerage attended as auditors, and the capacious gallery which surrounded the interior magnificent dome of the House contained above 400 ladies of the highest distinction, who partook of the same national fire which had enlightened their parents, their husbands, and their relatives, and by the sympathetic influence of their presence and zeal communicated an instinctive chivalrous impulse to eloquence and to patriotism. Those who have only seen the tumultuous rush of Imperial Parliaments can form no idea of the interesting appearance of the Irish House of Commons. The cheerful magnificence of its splendid architecture—the

number—the decorum and brilliancy of the anxious auditory—the vital question that night to be determined, and the solemn dignity which closed the proceedings of that awful moment—collectively produced impressions, even on disinterested strangers, which perhaps had never been so strongly or so justly excited by the appearance and proceedings of any house of legislature. Mr. Pery [the Speaker] took the chair at 4 o'clock.

“The singular wording of the summons had its complete effect, and procured the attendance of almost every member resident within the kingdom. A calm but deep solicitude was apparent on almost every countenance, when Mr. Grattan entered, accompanied by Mr. Brownlow, and several others, the determined and important advocates for the Declaration of Irish Independence. Mr. Grattan's preceding exertions and anxiety had manifestly injured his health; his tottering frame seemed barely sufficient to sustain his labouring mind, replete with the unprecedented importance and responsibility of the measure he was about to bring forward. He was unacquainted with the reception it would obtain from the connexions of the Government; he was that day irretrievably to commit his country with Great Britain, and through him Ireland was either to assert her liberty, or start from the connexion. His own situation was tremendous—that of the members attached to the Administration embarrassing—that of the people, anxious to palpitation.

“For a short time a profound silence ensued:—it was expected that Mr. Grattan would immediately rise—when the wisdom and discretion of the Government gave a turn to the proceedings, which in a moment eased the Parliament of its solicitude, Mr. Grattan of the weight that oppressed him, and the people of their anxiety. Mr. Hely Hutchinson (then Secretary of State in Ireland) rose. He said

that his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant had ordered him to deliver a message from the King, importing that, 'His Majesty being concerned to find that discontents and jealousies were prevailing amongst his loyal subjects of Ireland, upon matters of great weight and importance, recommended to the House to take the same into their most serious consideration, in order to effect such a final adjustment as might give satisfaction to both kingdoms.' And Mr. Hutchinson accompanied this message with a statement of his own views on the subject, and his determination to support a declaration of Irish Rights and Constitutional Independence.

"Thus, on the 16th of April, 1782, did the King of Ireland, through his Irish Secretary of State, at length himself propose to redress those grievances through his Irish Parliament, an authority which, as King of England, his Minister had never before recognised or admitted. In a moment the whole scene was completely changed; those miserable prospects which had so long disgusted, and at length so completely agitated the Irish people, vanished from their view; the phenomenon of such a message had an instantaneous and astonishing effect, and pointed out such a line of conduct to every party and to every individual, as left it almost impossible for any but the most mischievous characters to obstruct the happy unanimity which now became the gratifying result of this prudent and wise proceeding. Mr. Hutchinson, however, observed in his speech, that he was not officially authorized to say more than simply to deliver the message: he was therefore silent as to all details—and pledged the Government to none; the Parliament would act upon the message as to themselves might seem advisable.

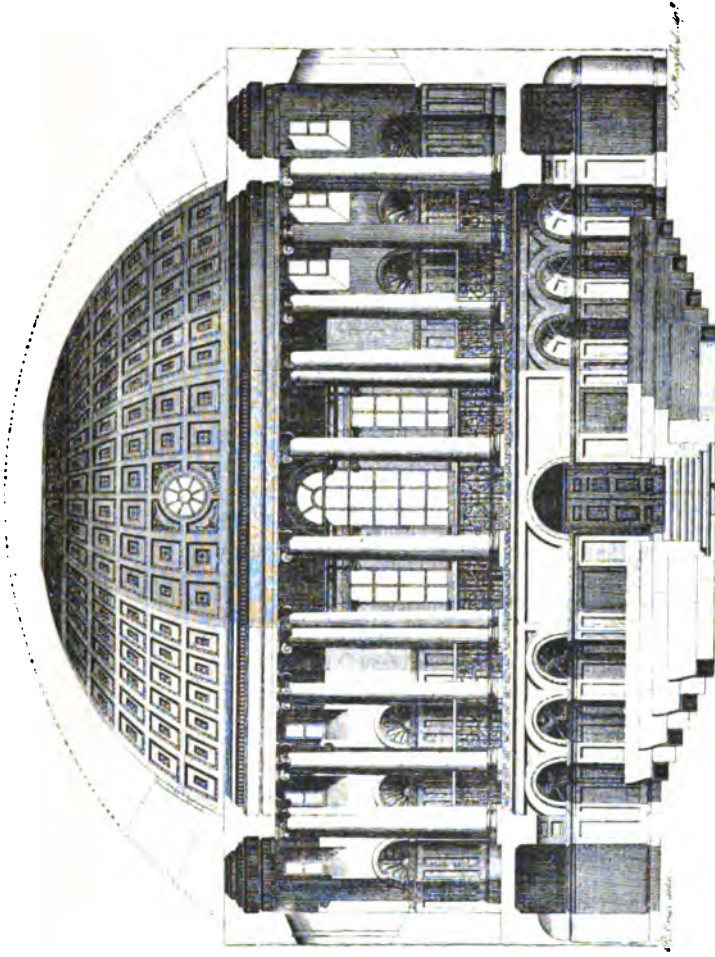
"Another solemn pause now ensued. Mr. Grattan remained silent—when Mr. George Ponsonby rose, and, after eulogizing the

King, the British Minister, and the Irish Government, simply proposed an humble address in reply.

“It is not unworthy of remark, that in describing the events of that important evening, the structure of the Irish House of Commons at the period of these debates was particularly adapted to convey to the people an impression of dignity and of splendour in their legislative assembly. The interior of the Commons’ House was a rotunda of great architectural magnificence; an immense gallery, supported by Tuscan pillars, surrounded the inner base of a grand and lofty dome. In that gallery, on every important debate, nearly 700 auditors heard the sentiments and learned the characters of their Irish representatives; the gallery was never cleared on a division; the rising generation acquired a love of eloquence and of liberty; the principles of a just and proud ambition; the details of public business; and the rudiments of constitutional legislation. The front rows of this gallery were generally occupied by females of the highest rank and fashion, whose presence gave an animating and brilliant splendour to the entire scene; and, in a nation such as Ireland then was, from which the gallant principles of chivalry had not been altogether banished, contributed not a little to the preservation of that decorum so indispensable to the dignity and weight of deliberative assemblies. This entire gallery had been crowded at an early hour by personages of the first respectability of both sexes—it would be difficult to describe the interesting appearance of the whole assemblage at this awful moment.

“After the speech of Mr. Hutchinson, which, in fact, decided nothing, a low confidential whisper ran through the House, and every member seemed to court the sentiments of his neighbour, without venturing to express his own;

XIII.



*A Section of the House of Commons Dublin*



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the anxious spectators, inquisitively leaning forward, awaited with palpitating expectation the development of some measure likely to decide the fate of their country, themselves, and their posterity; no middle course could be possibly adopted; immediate conciliation or tranquillity, or revolt and revolution, was the dilemma which floated on every thinking mind—a solemn pause ensued—at length Mr. Grattan, slowly rising from his seat, commenced the most luminous, brilliant, and effective oration ever delivered in the Irish Parliament.”

“I am now,” said he, “to address a free people: ages have passed away, and this is the first moment in which you could be distinguished by that appellation.—I found Ireland on her knees, I watched over her with an eternal solicitude; I have traced her progress from injuries to arms, and from arms to liberty. Spirit of Swift! spirit of Molyneux! your genius has prevailed! Ireland is now a nation! in that new character I hail her! and, bowing to her august presence, I say, ‘Esto perpetua!’ She is no longer a wretched colony, returning thanks to her Governor for his rapine, and to her King for his oppression; nor is she now a squabbling, fretful sectary, perplexing her little wits, and firing her furious statutes with bigotry, sophistry, disabilities, and death, to transmit to posterity insignificance and war.

“There are some who think, and a few who declare, that the [Volunteer] associations to which I refer are illegal: come, then, let us try the charge, and state the grievance. And, first I ask, what were the grievances?—an army imposed on us by another country; that army rendered perpetual; the Privy Council of both countries made a part of our Legislature; our Legislature deprived of its originating and propounding power; another country exercising over us supreme legislative authority; that country disposing of our property by its judgments, and

prohibiting our trade by its statutes: these were not grievances, but spoliations, which left you nothing. When you contended against them, you contended for the whole of your condition; when the Minister asks by what right?—we refer him to our Maker: we sought our privileges by the right which we have to defend our property against a robber, our life against a murderer, our country against an invader, whether coming with civil or military force— a foreign army or a foreign Legislature.— Let other nations be deceived by the sophistry of courts.— Ireland has studied politics in the lair of oppression, and, taught by suffering, comprehends the rights of subjects and the duty of kings. Let other nations imagine that subjects were made for the monarch, but we conceive that kings, and Parliaments, like kings, are made for the subjects.— You can get a king anywhere, but England is the only country with whom you can participate a free Constitution. This makes England your natural connexion, and her king your natural as well as your legal sovereign: this is a connexion—not as Lord Coke has idly said, not as Judge Blackstone has foolishly said, not as other Judges have ignorantly said—by conquest; but as Molyneux has said, and as I now say, by compact: and that compact is a free Constitution. Suffer me now to state some of the things essential to that free Constitution; they are as follows: the independency of the Irish Parliament; the exclusion of the British Parliament from any authority in this realm; the restoration of the Irish Judicature, and the exclusion of that of Great Britain.”

“This speech, ranking in the very first class of effective eloquence, rising in its progress, applied equally to the sense, the pride, and the spirit of the nation; every succeeding sentence increased the interest which his exordium had excited—trampling upon the arrogant claims and unconstitutional usurpations

XIV.



GRATTAN.

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of the British Government, he reasoned on the enlightened principle of a federative compact, and urged irresistibly the necessity, the justice, and the policy of immediately and unequivocally declaring the constitutional independence of the Irish nation, and the supremacy of the Irish Parliament, as the only effectual means of preserving the connexion between the two nations.

“Proceeding in the same glow of language and of reasoning, and amidst an universal cry of approbation,” Grattan concluded by moving the following amendment to Ponsonby’s motion:—

“To assure his Majesty of our unshaken attachment to his Majesty’s person and government, and of our lively sense of his paternal care in thus taking the lead to administer content to his Majesty’s subjects of Ireland. That, thus encouraged by his royal interposition, we shall beg leave, with all duty and affection, to lay before his Majesty the causes of our discontents and jealousies. To assure his Majesty that his subjects of Ireland are a free people. That the Crown of Ireland is an Imperial Crown, inseparably annexed to the Crown of Great Britain, on which connexion the interests and happiness of both nations essentially depend; but that the kingdom of Ireland is a distinct kingdom, with a Parliament of her own, the sole Legislature thereof. That there is no body of men competent to make laws to bind this nation except the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, nor any other Parliament which hath any authority or power of any sort whatsoever in this country, save only the Parliament of Ireland. To assure his Majesty that we humbly conceive that in this right the very essence of our liberties exists; a right which we, on the part of all the people of Ireland, do claim as their birthright, and which we cannot yield but with

our lives. To assure his Majesty that we have seen, with concern, certain claims advanced by the Parliament of Great Britain in an Act entitled 'An Act for the better securing the dependency of Ireland;' an Act containing matter entirely irreconcilable to the fundamental rights of this nation. That we conceive this Act, and the claims it advances, to be the great and principal cause of the discontents and jealousies of this kingdom. To assure his Majesty that his Majesty's Commons of Ireland do most sincerely wish that all bills, which have become law in Ireland, should receive the approbation of his Majesty, under the seal of Great Britain; but that we do consider the practice of suppressing our bills in the Council of Ireland, or altering the same anywhere, to be another just cause of discontent and jealousy. To assure his Majesty that an Act, entitled 'An Act for the better accommodation of his Majesty's Forces,' being unlimited in duration, and defective in other instances, but passed in that shape from the particular circumstances of the times, is another just cause of discontent and jealousy in this kingdom. That we have submitted these, the principal causes of the present discontent and jealousy of Ireland, and remain in humble expectation of redress. That we have the greatest reliance on his Majesty's wisdom, the most sanguine expectations from his virtuous choice of a Chief Governor, and great confidence in the wise, auspicious, and constitutional councils, which we see with satisfaction his Majesty has adopted. That we have, moreover, a high sense and veneration for the British character, and do therefore conceive that the proceedings of this country, founded as they were on right, and tempered by duty, must have excited the approbation and esteem, instead of wounding the pride, of the British nation. And we beg leave to assure his Majesty that we are the more confirmed in this hope, inasmuch

as the people of this kingdom have never expressed a desire to share the freedom of England without declaring a determination to share her fate likewise, standing and falling with the British nation."

This amendment was seconded by Mr. Brownlow, member for the county of Armagh, one of the first of the country gentlemen of Ireland in point of wealth and reputation. On the part of the Government adherents in the House, George Ponsonby assented to the proposed amendment; and after Hussey Burgh, John Fitzgibbon, and other members had spoken in advocacy of it, all further debate ceased. "The Speaker put the question on Mr. Grattan's amendment; a unanimous 'Aye' burst from every part of the House—he repeated the question—the applauses were redoubled—a moment of tumultuous exultation followed—and, after centuries of oppression, Ireland at length declared herself an independent nation.

"This important event quickly reached the impatient crowds of every rank of society, who, without-doors awaited the decision of Parliament; a cry of joy and of exultation spread with electric rapidity through the entire city—its echo penetrated to the very interior of the House—everything gave way to an effusion of happiness and congratulation.

The interior of the House of Commons on this occasion, with its assembled members, formed the subject of a painting by Francis Wheatley. In the dining-hall of Trinity College, Dublin, is to be seen Kenny's full-length portrait of Grattan, in his uniform as colonel of the Dublin Volunteers, addressing the House of Commons. Of this picture an engraving is here given.

The address of the Parliament in Ireland having been laid before the King, was communicated to the British Legislature, which with expedition acceded to the repeal of the Act



of 6 George I., thus restoring to Ireland the Court of Final Judicature. This decision was communicated in the following May to the Parliament at Dublin, which then passed bills regulating Acts of Parliament, the Habeas Corpus Act, the repeal of "Poynings' Law," and of the perpetual Mutiny Bill; securing also the Final Judicature, the freedom of election, the independence of the Judges, partly permitting Roman Catholics to acquire land by purchase, and relieving them from some of their disabilities. The Parliament, also, notwithstanding opposition by the spiritual Peers, repealed the act for the "Sacramental test," by which Protestant Dissenters had been long aggrieved.

Referring to the difficulties which he experienced in reconciling the members of the Peerage in Ireland to the restoration of their own privileges, Grattan observed:—"I carried the Lords upon my back; and a heavier load I never bore. I could never have got them to move, if it had not been for the bayonets of the Volunteers."

In this session, Beauchamp Bagenal, member for Carlow, proposed that £100,000 should be granted as a national gift to Grattan, at whose friends' request the vote was limited to half that amount. The House of Commons having resolved itself into a committee to take into consideration what sum of money might be proper to grant for the purpose of purchasing an estate, and building a mansion, to be settled on Henry Grattan, voted, on May 31, 1782, £50,000, to be laid out in the purchase of lands in Ireland, to be settled on him and his heirs, in testimony of the gratitude of the nation for his eminent and unequalled services to this kingdom.

The "simple repeal" of the declaratory statute of George I. satisfied Charlemont and Grattan; but Flood and many others objected to its inadequacy, maintaining, as indispensable for the

security of the country, that the British Parliament should expressly and for ever renounce the pretension to legislative authority over Ireland, and disclaim any future renewal of such assumption. These arguments, with the important constitutional questions arising from them, were debated with great ability. The British Parliament, by the Act of Renunciation, explicitly relinquished, on the part of Great Britain, all right or pretension to legislate for Ireland, internally or externally.

The first Parliament under the free Constitution in Ireland assembled at Dublin on the 14th of October, 1783, and Pery was again elected Speaker.

The House of Commons in Ireland, consisting of 300 members, was, in 1783, constituted as follows :—

32 Counties returned, . . . .	Knights, . . . .	64
7 Cities, . . . . .	Citizens, . . . .	14
The University of Dublin, .	Representatives,	2
110 Boroughs, . . . . .	Burgesses, . . .	220
		Total, 300

Of these it was understood that about eighty-one were elected by the people, and that two hundred and nineteen held their seats through favour of patrons and pecuniary arrangements. With the object of reforming this corrupt state of the House of Commons, a convention of Volunteers was organised in 1783. Acting in concert with them, Flood, in the same year, moved for leave to bring in a bill for the more equal Parliamentary representation of the people, exclusive of the Roman Catholics. This was rejected by 157 to 77. In March of the following year, another bill, brought forward by Flood for the same object, was rejected by 159 against 85.

In March of the succeeding year Flood brought forward another bill for Parliamentary reform, which after a protracted debate, during Saturday night and part of Sunday morning, was rejected by 159 against 85.

"How," asked Grattan, "came the Irish Parliament, with all its borough members, in 1779 to demand a free trade—in 1782 to demand a free Constitution? Because," he replied, "it sat in Ireland; because they sat in their own country; and because, at that time, they had a country; because, however influenced as many of its members were by places, however uninfluenced as many of its members were by popular representation, yet were they influenced by Irish sympathy. They did not like to meet, every hour, faces that looked shame upon them; they did not like to stand in the sphere of their own infamy; thus they acted as the Irish absentee at the very same time did not act; they saved the country, because they lived in it, as the others abandoned the country, because they lived out of it."

John Philpot Curran, in his thirty-third year, obtained a seat in the Parliament in Ireland in 1783, as member for the borough of Kilbeggan, through the influence of its proprietor, Lord Longueville. "I," said Curran, "was a person attached to a great and powerful party [the Opposition], whose leaders were men of importance in the State, totally devoted to those political pursuits from whence my mind was necessarily distracted by studies of a different description. They allotted me my station in debate, which, being generally in the rear, was seldom brought into action till towards the close of the engagement. After having toiled through the Four Courts for the entire day, I brought to the House of Commons a person enfeebled and a mind exhausted. I was compelled to speak late in the night, and had to rise early for the

Judges in the morning: the consequence was, my efforts were but crude; and, where others had the whole day for the correction of [the reports of] their speeches, I was left at the mercy of inability or inattention."

In November, 1783, on occasion of a debate on a petition respecting the importation of tobacco, the occupants of the gallery having loudly applauded the sentiments expressed by Prime Sergeant Kelly, the House was ordered to be cleared, and Fitzgibbon, the Attorney-General, after censuring the conduct of those in the gallery, moved a resolution—"That a gross and indecent outrage, by clapping of hands, having been committed this night by the strangers admitted to the gallery, resolved, that the Sergeant-at-Arms do, from time to time, take into his custody any stranger or strangers that he shall see or be informed of to be in the House, while any committee of the whole House, or the committee of privileges, is sitting; and that this order should be strictly enforced." Flood, who strongly advocated the admission of constituents to hear the debates, declared that if gentlemen were not ashamed of their conduct, they had nothing to fear from it being known; and that it was unreasonable and unjust to exclude all from the galleries for the intemperate conduct of a few. The motion was, however, carried by 157 against 72.

To alleviate the distress resulting from the suppression of trade in Ireland, a bill was introduced into Parliament to establish restrictive duties to protect the Irish manufacturers against the long-standing British monopolies. The rejection of this bill, on Friday, March 9, 1784, highly incensed the suffering populace. About five hundred distressed artisans assembled at the Parliament House on the following Monday, and having made their way into the gallery of the House, then sitting, they loudly

taunted the members who had voted against the bill with having received bribes from England. The troops were immediately ordered out, and two of the chief rioters having been arrested, were carried to the bar, and ordered to be committed to Newgate; after which the business of the House was resumed.

John Foster, representative of Louth, was in 1785 unanimously elected Speaker of the Commons, on the resignation of Edmund Sexten Pery, who received the title of Viscount.

The Peers had, in 1778, decided on erecting additional apartments for their own convenience over the clerks' offices, the coffee-room, the adjacent chamber, and the robing-room; but in the ensuing year they resolved that in the then state of the country it was expedient to defer the buildings. These, in 1782, they agreed to proceed with, under the superintendence of Thomas Cooley. The design was, however, abandoned in the same year, the House resolving that, in consequence of the new plan adopted by Parliament for opening a communication between the northern and southern sides of the city, there would be an opportunity of building the required additional rooms in a commodious manner, by erecting an east front to the House, with a convenient entrance. Various architects, consulted by the Peers, reported that the contemplated erection would be impeded by serious obstructions, the eastern portion of the Parliament House being environed with houses and buildings standing on ground, the sudden and great declivities of which opposed the observance of a due regard to architectural uniformity in preserving continuously the lines of cornices, blank windows, and rustic basement. James Gandon, however, gave his opinion that the additions could be carried out, provided the ground were obtained. He proposed the erection of a portico on the east side, as an entrance to the House of Lords, connected

with the south front by a circular ornamental wall; the portico to be of the Corinthian order, the lengthened shaft and capital of which would, with the aid of one or two steps of approach, nearly meet the obstacle presented by the declivity of the ground. An Ionic portico on this site should have been ascended by a considerable flight of steps, or its grandeur would have been totally marred by the high pedestals required for the columns.

In December, 1783, the Peers having agreed to accept Gandon's plans, with some alterations from his original design, voted £7,761 17s. 5d. for the purchase of the site; and the digging of the foundation was commenced in May, 1785. The portico thus erected in Westmoreland-street is composed of six Corinthian columns, 3 feet 6 inches in diameter, surmounted by a handsome pediment, originally approached by two steps, and with the circular ornamental wall, as in the plan, carrying round the cornice and rustic basement, but without columns, and substituting niches instead of windows.

The apparent incongruity of erecting a Corinthian portico to an Ionic edifice excited numerous comments from those unacquainted with the difficulties presented by the site. "During the erection of this portico, a gentleman passing by, just at the moment when Mr. Gandon was visiting the works, accosted him, not knowing that he was the architect, and begged to know what the order of the columns was, perceiving that they differed from those in the front portico. Mr. Gandon's playful reply was:—'Sir, the order you are now inquiring about is a very substantial one, being an order of the House of Lords.'"

The additional apartments erected at this period for the House of Lords included a committee-room 39 feet by 27;

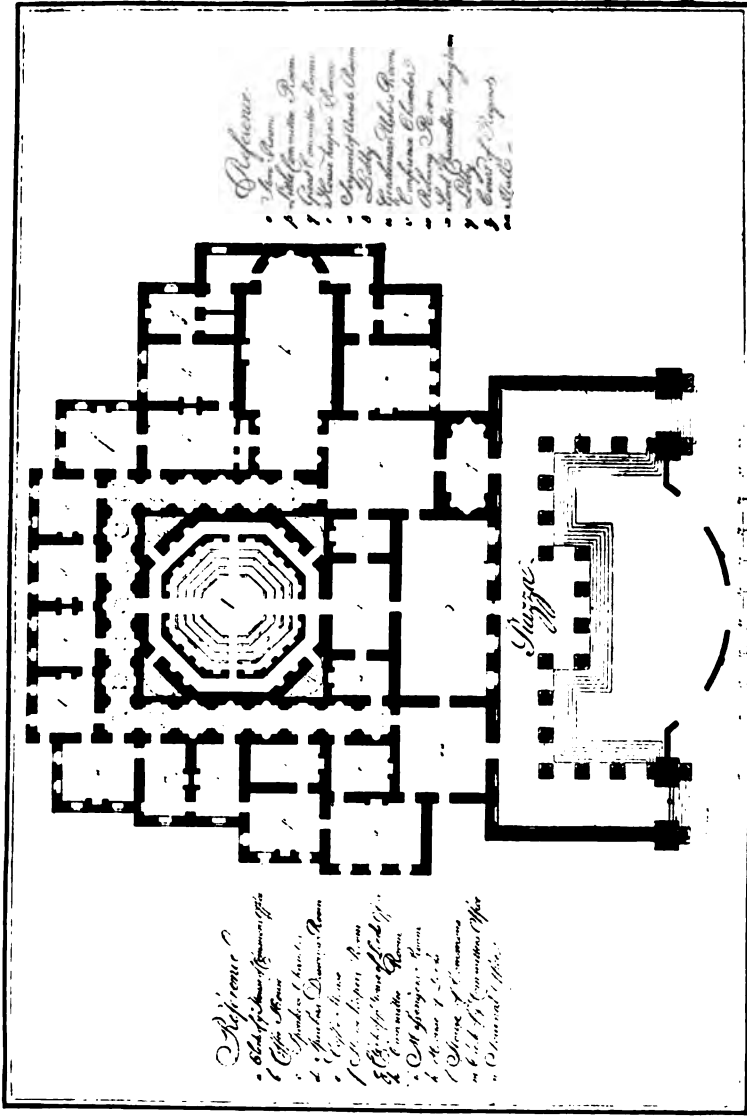
a library 33 feet square; a hall 57 feet by 20; a circular vestibule; and an office for the Ulster King-of-Arms; the total expenditure being £20,137, 7s. 5½d. The three figures representing Justice, Wisdom, and Liberty, on the pediment of this eastern portico, were executed by Edward Smith, the sculptor of the statue of Dr. Lucas, now in the City Hall, Dublin.

Earnest debates took place in the House of Commons in 1785 relative to commercial arrangements between Great Britain and Ireland, on the basis of propositions submitted by Thomas Orde, Chief Secretary to Charles Manners, Duke of Rutland, then Viceroy.

Flood, Grattan, Curran, and others, effectively opposed the propositions, on the ground that their acceptance would transfer to England the power of making laws for and governing the trade and navigation of Ireland.

In 1785, James Watt, the engineer, was examined before a committee of the House of Lords, Dublin, on commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland, in relation to his patents for improvements in the steam engine. To the same committee John Walter gave evidence concerning his inventions connected with printing.

“The House of Lords at Dublin,” wrote the Rev. John Wesley in 1787, “far exceeds that at Westminster: and the Lord Lieutenant’s throne as far exceeds that miserable throne (so-called) of the King in the English House of Lords. The House of Commons is a noble room indeed,—it is an octagon, wainscotted round with Irish oak, which shames all mahogany, and galleried all round for the convenience of the ladies. The Speaker’s chair is far more grand than the throne of the Lord Lieutenant. But, adds Wesley, “what surprised me above all, were the kitchens of the House, and the large apparatus for good eating. Tables



*The Parliament House, Dublin.*



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were placed from one end of a large hall to the other, which, it seems, while the Parliament sits, are daily covered with meat, at four or five o'clock, for the accommodation of the members."

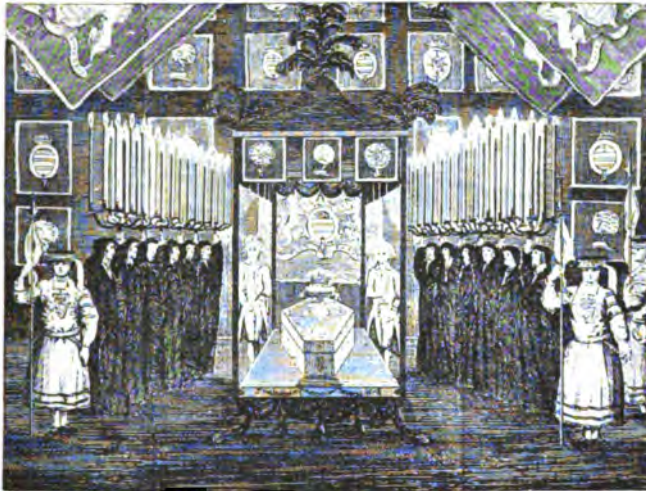
Barrington, who sat in the later Irish Parliaments, tells us that—"on the day whereon the routine business of the Budget was to be opened, for the purpose of voting supplies, the Speaker invited the whole of the members to the dinner in the House, in his own and the adjoining chambers. Several Peers were accustomed to mix in the company; and I believe an equally happy, joyous, and convivial assemblage of legislators never were seen together. All distinctions as to Government or Opposition parties were totally laid aside; harmony, wit, wine, and good humour reigning triumphant. The Speaker, Clerk, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and a very few veteran financiers, remained in the House till the necessary routine was gone through, and then joined their happy comrades, the party seldom breaking up till midnight. On the ensuing day the same festivities were repeated; but on the third day, when the report was to be brought in, and the business discussed in detail, the scene totally changed: the convivialists were now metamorphosed into downright public declamatory enemies, and, ranged on opposite sides of the House, assailed each other without mercy. Every questionable item was debated—every proposition deliberately discussed—and more zealous or assiduous senators could nowhere be found than in the very members who, during two days, had appeared to commit the whole funds of the nation to the management of half-a-dozen arithmeticians."

In November, 1787, the remains of the recently deceased Viceroy, Charles Manners, Duke of Rutland, were temporarily deposited at the Parliament House. At 3 a.m. the coffin containing the Duke's corpse was conveyed

from the Lodge in the Park, attended by his domestics, and escorted by a squadron of horse, to the House of Lords. The entrance to the chamber was through a suite of rooms, lighted with wax, and hung with a superfine black cloth, decorated with escutcheons and banners of his Grace's armorial achievements, and the insignia of the Order of St. Patrick and the Order of the Garter. The floors were covered with black cloth; the state-room was similarly decorated, the coffin being laid under a grand canopy, ornamented with large plumes of black feathers, and hung with escutcheons. The embalmed body was deposited in a cedar coffin, lined with satin, enclosed in one of lead, over which was a coffin of mahogany, richly inlaid, and the whole was enclosed in the state coffin, covered with crimson velvet, and decorated with ornaments, chased and gilt. On the breast-plate, which was in the form of a heart, encircled with a border of oak leaves, also chased and gilt, was engraved the inscription. At the head of the coffin was a ducal coronet, supported by two of his Grace's aides-de-camp, and on each side stood six mutes, dressed in long black gowns and caps, supporting branches of wax tapers. The passage through the room was enclosed by railing; every respectable person was admitted, a number of the Battle-axe Guards attending to preserve regularity; and strict decorum and silence were observed. A reproduction of a contemporary engraving of the ceremonial is here given. On the 17th of November, at 11 a.m., the coffin, preceded by the choirs of the two Protestant cathedrals, chanting a dirge, was conveyed to the funeral chariot, at the great portico, and thence brought in grand procession to the waterside.

During the imbecility of George III., in 1789, a majority in each House of Parliament at Dublin resolved, in opposition to Government, to request the Prince of Wales to assume the office

XVI.



*Representation of the Burial of the Grace the late Duke of Rutland bygone.*  
STATE in the HOUSE OF LORDS.

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of Regent of Ireland during the King's incapacity. The Marquis of Buckingham, Lord Lieutenant, declined to transmit the address, and delegates were appointed by both Houses to present it to the Prince in London.

The recovery of the King obviated the difficulties which might have arisen from the Parliament in Ireland differing with that of England on the terms upon which the Prince should be appointed Regent.

On the 23rd of April, 1789, the members of the two Houses of Parliament, with the Chancellor, Speaker, judges, officials, and heralds, went in procession in carriages from College-green to a solemn thanksgiving at Christ Church Cathedral for the King's recovery. The carriage of the Chancellor had six horses, and that of the Speaker of the House of Commons a similar number. In the Cathedral, the Speaker occupied a seat prepared for him on the right side of the Archbishop's throne, and the Commons took their stations in appointed places on the south side of the choir.

The most aggressive advocate in the Dublin Parliament for Pitt's policy against the Opposition party was John Fitzgibbon, the Attorney-General. He intimated in the House, that Government, following the precedent of Lord Townshend, would spend half a million to obtain a majority in Parliament, and they would make every man the victim of his vote. This threat led to the signature of an agreement, by which the Opposition members, headed by the Duke of Leinster, engaged among themselves not to accept offices or pensions vacated by the dismissal of any of their party. Government, having found that the Opposition could not be influenced, summarily dismissed them and their friends from the offices which they held, and succeeded in securing a majority in Parliament by creating new appoint-

ments, augmenting the Pension List, and selling Peerages. Referring to the Parliamentary influence thus obtained, George Ponsonby stated, in one of the debates, that there were 110 placemen in the House; that of the gross revenue of the country, one-eighth was divided among members of Parliament, and that they appeared determined not to let any law pass that was not agreeable to the English Minister or the English Merchant.

The national benefits anticipated from an emancipated Legislature were thus neutralized by the patronage and influence still centred in the British Ministers and their subalterns in Ireland, who, by traffic in Peerages, filled the House of Lords with their nominees, and acquired funds to purchase seats in the House of Commons for their dependents, thus defeating every effort aimed against the corruption by which their Parliamentary predominance was maintained. The English Cabinet virtually sat in the Parliament in Ireland, and was the Parliament, to the exclusion, not only of Roman Catholics, but of the country.

"Is there an honest man," asked the advocates of Reform in 1791, "who will say that the House of Commons [in Ireland] have the smallest respect for the people, or believe themselves their legitimate representatives? The fact is, that the great majority of that House consider themselves as the representatives of their own money, or the hired servants of the English Government, whose Minister here is appointed for the sole purpose of dealing out corruption to them, at the expense of Irish Liberty, Irish Commerce, and Irish improvement.

"This being the case, it naturally follows that such Minister is not only the representative of the English views against this country, but is also the sole representative of the people of Ireland. To elucidate which assertion it is only

necessary to ask whether a single question in favour of this oppressed nation can be carried without his consent;—and whether any measure, however inimical, may not, through his influence, be effected.

“We,” continued the reformers, “have no National Government. We are ruled by Englishmen, and the servants of Englishmen, whose object is the interest of another country; whose instrument is corruption; whose strength is the weakness of Ireland; and these men have the whole power and patronage of the country, as means to seduce and subdue the honesty and the spirit of her representatives in the Legislature.”

Arthur O'Connor averred that while he was a member of the House of Commons, the frequent conversation among the members was—How much has such an one given for his seat? From whom did he purchase? Has not such an one sold his borough? Has not such a Lord bought? Has not such a Peer so many members in this House? Was not such a member with the Lord Lieutenant's Secretary to insist on some greater place or pension? Did not the Secretary refuse it? Has he not gone into the Opposition?

“It is to be observed,” says a late writer, that in the representation in Ireland, “the people formed no part of the Constitution; there was no such body as what the French called *Tiers état*, and what the British Constitution called the Commons. The Irish had a King, a Chamber of Nobles, and another Chamber, elected by the Nobles, and supported by the Government and the Crown; and the result of this combination amounted to the establishment of a Court Cabinet over Ireland, and the transfer of legislation to England. Of 300 members of Parliament, 200 were chosen by 100 individuals; so that, of these, each individual had on an average two representatives. This oligarchy was as little the



representative of property as of population; 200 of these members were returned by persons whose property did not average £4,000 a year; this, too, in a country whose grants were above £3,000,000, and whose rental was calculated at £6,000,000. They received in stipend from the Crown an income bearing a great proportion to their own property; so that they were an oligarchy taxing for their own provision, and representing nothing but their dependency. In addition, the Minister had found out the art of buying their boroughs, as well as pensioning their persons. He even trafficked the seats of one House to purchase those of another; and by this double operation, the people, without perceiving it, bought the Parliament for the Minister against themselves. In fact, the Minister in Ireland was nothing more than the agent of the Cabinet of England; and the result of the whole machinery appeared to be a complete transfer to Great Britain of legislative power, founded on the abuse of every principle, political or moral, on the subversion of the Parliamentary Constitution of the country and on the suppression of all native influence, popular or proprietary, and of public liberty, as well as virtue. Such a state amounted to a Constitution which was not a representation either of property or of population; nor of property and population mixed; nor was it an aristocracy, nor an oligarchy, nor despotism; but it was the despotic power of another country."

The corrupt state of the representation did not altogether impede the progress of Ireland when even partially freed from commercial restrictions. Lord Chancellor Clare, speaking of the interval of Irish independence, asserted that—"there was not a nation on the habitable globe which had advanced in cultivation and commerce, in agriculture and manufactures, with the same rapidity in the same period."

The determined obstinacy with which "old natural jobbers of the country" and the Irish subalterns of the British Cabinet resisted various measures proposed for Parliamentary reform, and for the further emancipation of Roman Catholics, led to the organization of the "United Irishmen." This association soon concluded that it would be as easy to effect a revolution as to wrest any salutary measure of reform or religious equality from the English and borough interest in the Parliament of Ireland; and they consequently looked for foreign aid to enable them to carry out their views.

A bill to relieve Roman Catholics from portion of the penal enactments by which they were oppressed was introduced in the House of Commons on the 4th of February, 1792. In advocating it, on its second reading on the 15th of the same month, Curran observed:—"A disunited people cannot long subsist. With infinite regret must any man look forward to the alienation of three millions of our people, and to a degree of subserviency and corruption in a fourth, which I am sorry to think it is so very easy to conceive; because of such an event the inevitable consequence would be an union with Great Britain. And if any one desires to know what that would be, I will tell him. It would be the emigration of every man of consequence from Ireland; it would be the participation of British taxes, without British trade; it would be the extinction of the Irish name as a people. We should become a wretched colony, perhaps leased out to a company of Jews, as was formerly in contemplation, and governed by a few tax-gatherers and excisemen, unless, possibly, you may add fifteen or twenty couple of Irish Members, who might be found every session sleeping in their collars under the manger of the British Minister."

The Act of 1792 partly opened to Roman Catholics in Ireland the bar, the professions, the Grand Juries, the Corporations, permitted them to intermarry with Protestants, and to establish public schools. A petition from the Catholics of Dublin for admission to the elective franchise was, on February 20, 1792, summarily rejected by 208 against a minority of 25. Grattan, addressing the House of Commons on this occasion, observed:—

“The part of the subject which I shall now press upon you is the final and eternal doom to which some gentlemen propose to condemn the Catholic. Some have said they must never get the elective franchise. What! never be free? Three millions of your people condemned by their fellow-subjects to an everlasting slavery in all changes of time, decay of prejudice, increase of knowledge, the fall of Papal power, and the establishment of philosophic and moral ascendancy in its place. Never be free! Do you mean to tell the Roman Catholic it is in vain you take the oaths and declarations of allegiance; it would be in vain even to renounce the spiritual power of the Pope, and become like any other Dissenter? It will make no difference as to your emancipation. Go to France; go to America; carry your property, industry, manufactures, and family to a land of liberty. This is a sentence which requires the power of a God and the malignity of a demon; you are not competent to pronounce it; believe me, you may as well plant your foot on the earth, and hope by that resistance to stop the diurnal revolution which advances you to that morning sun which is to shine alike on the Protestant and the Catholic, as you can hope to arrest the progress of that other light, reason and justice, which approach to liberate the Catholic and liberalize the Protestant. Even now, the question is on its way, and making its destined and irresistible progress, which you, with all your authority, will have no power to resist; no more than any other great truth, or any great

ordinance of nature, or any law of motion which mankind is free to contemplate, but cannot resist. There is a justice linked to their cause, and a truth that sets off their application."

At the close of 1789, considerable alterations were made in the gallery of the House of Commons, at the suggestion of Burton Conyngham, and under the direction of the Speaker. The space was curtailed, and the students of the University were not admitted until the Speaker had taken the chair. The gallery, after its alteration, was capable of containing 280 persons, who, sitting at perfect ease, could witness every transaction of the House. To the gallery behind the chair, admittance was only granted by permission of the Speaker. Towards the termination of the Parliament in Ireland, the Collegians were denied free admission to the gallery—a privilege erroneously supposed to have been of long standing. We find the Attorney-General, Arthur Wolfe, stating, in 1790, that he remembered, when he was a student in the University, often to have walked in his gown, for hours, through the hall of the House, till he met some good-natured member to put him into the gallery.

"My acquaintance with Thomas Russell commenced," wrote Wolfe Tone, "by an argument in the gallery of the House of Commons. We were struck with each other, notwithstanding the difference of our opinions, and we agreed to dine together the next day, in order to discuss the question. We liked each other better the second day than the first, and every day since increased and confirmed our mutual esteem."

The English House of Parliament was cleared of strangers for every division, but in the Dublin House the divisions were public, and red and black lists were immediately published of the names of the voters on every important occasion.

The Commons' House not being thought sufficiently conve-

nient, and the members being also desirous to improve the external appearance of the building, determined to erect considerable additions to the westward of the old structure. Gandon made designs for these additions, which, however, were finally executed under the superintendence of Robert Parke, from plans partly devised by Colonel Samuel Hayes, M.P., who claimed to be a kinsman of Thomas Burgh, the predecessor of Pearce, as Surveyor-General.

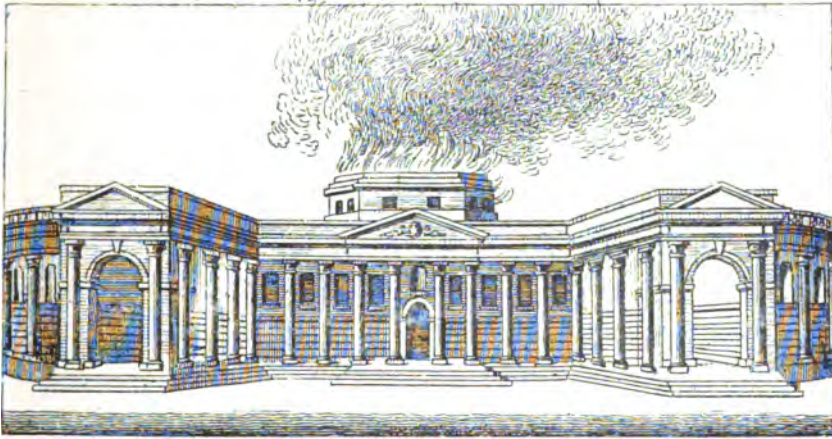
These erections, on portion of the site of "Turnstile Alley," comprised an extent of buildings nearly equal to that on the eastern side of the House. The western entrance, under a portico of four Ionic columns, was attached to the old portico by a circular wall, as on the opposite side, but with the addition of a circular colonnade, of the same order and magnitude as the columns of the portico, 12 feet distant from the wall. This colonnade, being of considerable extent, gave an appearance of extreme grandeur to the building, but deprived it of particular distinguishing beauties, which the plainer screen wall to the east gave to the porticoes.

The inside of this addition comprised many conveniences, including a suite of committee-rooms, for determining contested elections before the House; rooms for the House-keeper, Sergeant-at-Arms, etc., and a large hall for chairmen to wait in with their chairs. The whole expenditure of these buildings amounted to £25,396.

At about 5.30 p.m. on the 27th of February, 1792, while the Commons were sitting in Committee respecting regulations for encouraging brewing and preventing the excessive use of spirituous liquors, a report was brought in that the roof was on fire, and the House was consequently at once adjourned by the Speaker. The whole of the western part of the roof was in

## XVII.

The Appearance of Part of the *Parliament House, DUBLIN*, when in Flame s  
the 27<sup>th</sup> of Feb<sup>r</sup> 1792 and just before the Dome fell in.



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flames, and fell in before 7 o'clock; every possible assistance was afforded by the populace; all the engines of the city attended, and an infantry regiment, with a detachment of cavalry, was despatched from the barracks to College Green. At about one o'clock in the morning the fire was got under so far as to remove apprehensions of its communicating with other parts of the building. The apartment known as the House of Commons was, however, totally consumed, and in it was burned James Barry's painting of the baptism of the King of Cashel.

The fire in the Parliament House, which was at first by some ascribed to incendiarism, appears to have arisen from the following circumstances:—"A man of the name of Nesbit, a smoke-doctor, had been introduced to the Speaker, and recommended to his notice as a prodigy, in producing the greatest heat with the least possible portion of fuel. He was, therefore, employed to warm the House of Commons: and was suffered to cut into the walls, in order to lead flues into copper tubes, which he proposed to place on the angles of the dome. These tubes, from their nature, were very liable to be choked, and were often observed to be on fire, and large flakes of burning soot to fly out from them, to the great alarm of the neighbours, who gave repeated information of the fact, but to which no attention was given. The windows of the dome were also left very frequently carelessly open: the burning soot was driven in by the wind, and, resting on the framing, the wood-work took fire."

The Commons' House was rebuilt in a circular form, covered with a roof in the shape of a waggon-head, surmounting a high brick wall with chimneys. "This very curious deviation from the original design was caused by the interference of a member of the House, to whose dictation Mr. Waldré, the architect, felt himself constrained to submit. Had he refused his assent, it might have been at the risk of his employment, being under the direction



of the Board of Works. Had the dome been re-erected, and raised to the proper elevation, it would have been the pyramidal completion of the whole building." The name of "Goose-pie," which the edifice had acquired from its original dome was, however, not forgotten. We find William Todd Jones writing to Theobald Wolfe Tone, in 1793: "I will certainly walk into some of your [Dublin] parlours about November, as I have a curiosity to hear what the geese are saying in the pie about that time."

In January, 1793, William Ponsonby and Mr. Conolly proposed to submit to the House a measure for Reform, in which they were seconded by Grattan. He stated that of the 300 representatives elected to serve in Parliament, the counties and counties of cities and towns, together with Dublin University, returned 84 members, and that the remaining 216 were returned by boroughs and manors.

The usual price for an Irish borough was at this period from £14,000 to £16,000, exclusive of election expenses. The Reformers maintained that such heavy expenditure, necessitating men to renounce the service of their country, or to sacrifice the interests of their families, should eventually exclude from Parliament all unstipendiary talent acting for the people, and supply its place by mercenaries opposed to them.

On the other side it was argued that Ireland should be satisfied with the state of her representation, which various members maintained to be much less under corrupt borough influence than the Parliament of England. After several postponements, the proposed measure of Reform was rejected. Amongst its opponents in the House was Arthur Wellesley, subsequently Duke of Wellington.

The success of the arms of the French Republic influenced the English Ministers, as a measure of policy, to bring forward in February, 1793, and carry, in opposition to the feelings of many

members in the Dublin Parliament, a bill for the further emancipation of Roman Catholics in Ireland.

Of the Parliament House, James Malton, an English artist of last century, has left the following notice, in connection with an engraved view, a reproduction of which, in reduced size, forms the frontispiece of the present publication.

“The Parliament House of Ireland is, notwithstanding the several fine pieces of architecture since recently raised, the noblest structure Dublin has to boast; and it is no hyperbole to advance, that this edifice, in the entire, is the grandest most convenient, and most extensive of the kind in Europe. The inside of this admirable building corresponds in every respect with the majesty of its external appearance. The middle door under the portico leads directly into the Commons’ House, passing through a great hall, called the Court of Requests, where people assemble during the sittings of Parliament, sometimes large deputations of them with, and attending petitions before the House. The Commons’ room is truly deserving of admiration. Its form is circular, 55 feet in diameter, inscribed in a square. The seats whereon the members sit are disposed around the centre of the room in concentric circles, one rising above another. About 15 feet above the level of the floor, on a cylindrical basement, are disposed 16 Corinthian columns supporting a rich hemispherical dome, which crowns the whole. A narrow gallery for the public, about five feet broad, with very convenient seats, is fitted up, with a balustrade in front between the pillars. The appearance of the House assembled below from the gallery corresponds with its importance, and presents a dignity that must be seen to be felt; the strength of the orators’ eloquence receives additional force from the construction of the place, and the vibration in the dome. All around the Commons’ room is a beautiful corridor, which communicates by three doors

into the house, and to all the apartments attendant thereon, which are conveniently disposed about, committee-rooms, rooms for clerks, coffee-rooms, etc. The House of Lords is situated to the right of the Commons, and is also a noble apartment; the body is forty feet long by thirty feet wide, in addition to which, at the upper end, is a circular recess 13 feet deep, like a large niche, wherein the throne is placed, under a rich canopy of crimson velvet: and at the lower end is the bar, 20 feet square. The room is ornamented at each end with Corinthian columns, with niches between. The entablature of the order goes round the room, which is covered with a rich trunk ceiling. On the two long sides of the room are two large pieces of tapestry, now [1794] rather decayed: one represents the famous battle of the Boyne, and the other, the siege of Derry. Here again," adds Malton, "the House assembled, from below the bar a high scene of picturesque grandeur is presented: and the Viceroy on his throne appears with more splendour than his Majesty himself on the throne of England."

Prospects of fundamental reform or further emancipation of the Roman Catholics were dissipated by the rejection of a measure brought forward by W. B. Ponsonby in May, 1797. The Opposition, finding it in vain to contend further with the absolute power secured by the pecuniary influence wielded by the Government advocates of coercion, decided on seceding from Parliament. In concluding his speech in this debate, Grattan observed:—"We have offered you our measure [Reform and conciliation]—you will reject it. We deprecate yours [coercion]. You will persevere. Having no hopes left to persuade or to dissuade, and having discharged our duty, we shall trouble you no more, and after this day shall not attend the House of Commons."

Lord Edward Fitzgerald, who had represented Kildare in the House of Commons, declined, in 1797, to become a candidate again,

as he considered there could not be free election under existing military domination. "Looking to the true spirit of the British Constitution, I doubt," he wrote, "if a body elected under such circumstances can be called a Parliament, or its acts reckoned binding."

Many of the people of Ireland now regarded the Parliament, not as their representatives, but as a body of placemen and pensioners, subsidized by British Ministers, and with no other object in view than the advancement of their individual interests. The sentiments of the ultra-Republican party in Ireland towards the House of Peers and Commons were expressed in the following stanzas of a song of this period:—

"These nicknames, Marquis, Lord, and Earl,  
That set the crowd a-gazing,  
We prize as hogs esteem a pearl,  
Their patents set a-blazing;  
No more they'll vote away our wealth  
To please a King or Queen, sirs,  
But gladly pack away by stealth,  
Or taste the guillotine, sirs.

"Our Commons, too, who say, forsooth,  
They represent the Nation,  
Shall scamper East, West, North, and South,  
Or feel our indignation;  
The Speaker's mace to current coin  
We presently will alter,  
For ribbons, lately thought so fine,  
We'll fit each with a halter.

"Those lawyers, who with face of brass,  
And wigs replete with learning,  
Whose far-fetched quibbling quirks surpass  
Republicans' discerning;

For them, to ancient forms be staunch,  
"Twill suit such worthy fellows,  
In justice spare one legal branch,  
I mean—reserve the gallows."

The abandonment of expected beneficial legislation, the establishment of a military, coercive government, free quarters, house-burnings, tortures, military executions in the counties of Kildare, Carlow, and Wicklow, were followed by an insurrection in 1798.

On the 18th of May, 1798, Robert, Earl of Kingston, was put on his trial by his peers in the Parliament House, for having shot Colonel Henry Fitzgerald, who had abducted his daughter. Of this trial, which was held in the Commons' House, the Peers' House not being sufficiently large, the following account has been left by Sir Jonah Barrington, who was present on the occasion:—

"Whoever had seen the interior of the Irish House of Commons must have admired it as one of the most chaste and classic models of architecture. A perfect rotunda, with Ionic pilasters, enclosed a corridor which ran round the interior. The cupola, of immense height, bestowed a magnificence which could rarely be surpassed: whilst a gallery, supported by columns divided into compartments, and accommodating 700 spectators, commanded an uninterrupted view of the chamber. This gallery, on every important debate, was filled, not by reporters, but by the superior orders of society—the first rows being generally occupied by ladies of fashion and rank, who diffused a brilliance over, and gallant decorum in that assembly which the British House certainly does not appear very sedulously to cultivate.

"This fine chamber was now fitted up in such a way as to give it the most solemn aspect. One compartment of seats in the House was covered with scarlet cloth, and appropriated to the Peereses

and their daughters, who ranged themselves according to the table of precedence.

“The Commons, their families and friends, lined the galleries: the whole House was superbly carpeted, and the Speaker’s chair newly adorned for the Lord Chancellor. On the whole, it was by far the most impressive and majestic spectacle ever exhibited within those walls.

“At length the Peers entered, according to their rank, in full dress, and richly robed. Each man took his seat in profound silence: and even the ladies were likewise still. The Chancellor, bearing a white wand, having taken his chair, the most interesting moment of all was at hand, and its approach really made me shudder.

“Sir Chichester Fortescue, King-of-Arms, in his party-coloured robes, entered first, carrying the armorial bearings of the accused nobleman emblazoned on his shield: he placed himself on the left of the bar. Next entered Lord Kingston himself, in deep mourning, moving with a slow and melancholy step. His eyes were fixed on the ground; and walking up to the bar, he was placed next to the King-of-Arms, who then held his armorial shield on a level with his shoulder. The supposed executioner then approached, bearing a large hatchet, with an immense broad blade. It was painted black, except within about two inches of the edge, which was of bright polished steel. Placing himself at the bar on the right of the prisoner, he raised the hatchet about as high as his Lordship’s neck, but with the shining edge averted; and thus he remained during the whole of the trial. The forms, I understood, prescribed that the shining edge should be averted until the pronouncing of judgment, when, if it were unfavourable, the blade was instantly to be turned by the executioner towards the prisoner, indicating at once his sentence and his fate.

“The usual legal ceremonies were now entered on:—the charge was read—the prisoner pleaded not guilty—and the trial proceeded. A proclamation was made, first generally, then name by name, for the witnesses for the prosecution to come forward. It is not easy to describe the anxiety and suspense excited as each name was called over. The eyes of everybody were directed to the bar where the witnesses must enter, and every little movement of the persons who thronged it was held to be intended to make room for some accuser. None, however, appeared; thrice they were called, but in vain: and it was then announced that ‘no witnesses appearing to substantiate the charge of murder, against Robert, Earl of Kingston, the trial should terminate in the accustomed manner.’

“The Chancellor proceeded to put the question; and every Peer, according to his rank, arose, and deliberately walking by the chair in which the Chancellor was seated, placed his hand, as he passed, solemnly on his heart, and repeated, ‘Not guilty, upon my honour.’ The Bishops were, very properly, precluded from voting in these criminal cases.

“After all had passed, which ceremony occupied an hour, the Chancellor rose, and declared the opinion of the Peers of Ireland, —‘That Robert, Earl of Kingston, was not guilty of the charge against him.’ His Lordship then broke his wand, descended from his chair, and thus ended the trial—most interesting because it had at once a strong political and constitutional bearing, and affected a nobleman universally beloved.”

The Parliament continued to sit and legislate during the commotions in 1798. In August and September of that year, Arthur O'Connor, Thomas Addis Emmett, and Dr. William James MacNeven, leaders of the United Irish Society, were examined before the Secret Committees of both Houses.

XVIII.



**WILLIAM CONYNGHAM PLUNKET.**



THE ...  
PUBLIC ...  
AC OF ...  
TILDE ...

The question of a Union with Great Britain was first debated in the Parliament in Ireland in consequence of a reference to the measure in the King's speech on the opening of the session, on the 22nd of January, 1799.

At that juncture the people were distracted by domestic dissensions and panic-stricken at the results of recent calamities; the Habeas Corpus act was suspended; and courts martial were sitting in various parts of the kingdom, which was covered by troops exceeding in number 137,000 men.

In this debate in the House of Commons, thirty members spoke for, and forty-five against, the Union. Among them was William Conyngham Plunket, who declared that during the past six weeks a system of corruption had been carried on within Dublin Castle, which would disgrace the annals of the worst period of the history of either country. He saw two right honourable gentlemen [Sir John Parnell, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Prime Sergeant, James Fitzgerald] sitting within those walls, who had long and faithfully served the Crown, and who had been dismissed because they dared to express a sentiment in favour of the freedom of their country. He saw another honourable gentleman who had been forced to resign his place as Commissioner of the Revenue, because he refused to co-operate in that dirty job of a dirty administration: did they dare to deny this? "I say," he continued, "that at this moment the threat of dismissal from office is suspended over the heads of the members who now sit around me, in order to influence their votes on the question of this night, involving everything that can be sacred or dear to man: do you desire to take down my words? Utter the desire, and I will prove the truth of them at your bar. Sir, I would warn you against the consequences of carrying this measure by such means as this, but that I see the necessary defeat

of it in the honest and universal indignation which the adoption of such means excites.

“In the most express manner, I,” added Plunket, “deny the competency of Parliament to do this act [of Union]; I warn you, do not lay your hands on the Constitution. I tell you, that if, circumstanced as you are, you pass this act, it will be a mere nullity, and no man in Ireland will be bound to obey it. You have not been elected for the purpose. You are appointed to make laws, and not legislatures. You are appointed to exercise the functions of legislators, and not to transfer them. Yourselves you may extinguish, but Parliament you cannot extinguish. It is enthroned in the hearts of the people—it is enshrined in the sanctuary of the Constitution—it is immortal as the island which protects it. As well might the frantic suicide hope that the act which destroys his miserable body should extinguish his eternal soul.”

This sitting of the House continued without interruption from about 4 P. M. on the 22nd of January, to 1 P. M. on the following day, when, including Tellers and the Speaker, 217 members divided, and the Minister obtained a majority of one.

The second debate on the proposed Union commenced at 4.30 P. M. on the 24th of the same month.

“The people,” says Barrington, “collected in vast multitudes around the House; a strong sensation was everywhere perceptible; immense numbers of ladies of distinction crowded, at an early hour, into the galleries, and by their presence and their gestures animated that patriotic spirit, upon the prompt energy of which alone depended the fate of Ireland. After the most stormy debate remembered in the Dublin Parliament, the question was loudly called for by the Opposition, who were now tolerably secure of a majority: never

did so much solicitude appear in any public assembly;—at length above sixty members had spoken, the subject was exhausted, and all parties seemed impatient. The House divided, and the Opposition withdrew to the Court of Requests. It is not easy to conceive, still less to describe, the anxiety of that moment: a considerable delay took place. Mr. Ponsonby and Sir Lawrence Parsons were at length named Tellers for the amendment; Mr. Smith and Lord Tyrone for the address. 111 members had declared against the Union, and when the doors were opened, 105 was found to be the total number of the Minister's adherents. Mr. Egan, Chairman of Dublin County, a coarse, large, bluff, red-faced Irishman, was the last [of the Opposition] who entered. His exultation knew no bounds; as No. 110 was announced, he stopped a moment at the bar, flourished a great stick which he had in his hand over his head, and, with the voice of a Stentor, cried out, 'And I'm a hundred-and-eleven!' He then sat quietly down and burst out into an immoderate and almost convulsive fit of laughter; it was all heart. Never was there a finer picture of genuine patriotism. He was very far from being rich, and had an offer to be made a Baron of the Exchequer, with £3,500 a year, if he would support the Union; but he refused with indignation.

“The gratification of the Anti-Unionists was unbounded; and as they walked deliberately in, one by one, to be counted, the eager spectators, ladies as well as gentlemen, leaning over the galleries, ignorant of the result, were panting with expectation. Lady Castlereagh, then one of the finest women of the Court, appeared in the Sergeant's box, palpitating for her husband's fate. The desponding appearance and fallen crests of the Ministerial benches, and the exulting air of the Opposition members as they entered, were intelligible.

“The murmurs of suppressed anxiety would have excited an interest even in the most unconnected stranger, who had known the objects and importance of the contest. How much more, therefore, must every Irish breast which panted in the galleries have experienced that thrilling enthusiasm which accompanies the achievement of patriotic actions, when the Minister’s defeat was announced from the chair. A due sense of respect and decorum restrained the galleries within proper bounds; but a loud cry of satisfaction from the female audience could not be prevented; and no sooner was the event made known out of doors, than the crowds that had waited during the entire night, with increasing impatience, for the vote which was to decide upon the independence of their country, sent forth loud and reiterated shouts of exultation, which, resounding through the corridors and penetrating to the body of the House, added to the triumph of the conquerors, and to the misery of the adherents of the conquered Minister.”

“Upon the rising of the House, the populace became tumultuous, and a violent disposition against those who had supported the Union was manifest, not only amongst the common people, but amongst those of a much higher class, who had been mingling with them. On the Speaker’s coming out of the House, the horses were taken from his carriage, and he was drawn in triumph through the streets by the people, who conceived the whimsical idea of tackling the Lord Chancellor [Clare] to the coach, and (as a captive general in a Roman triumph) forcing him to tug at the chariot of his conqueror. The populace closely pursued his Lordship for that extraordinary purpose; he escaped with difficulty, and fled, with a pistol in his hand, to a receding doorway in Clarendon-street. But the people, who pursued him in sport, set up a loud laugh at him, as he stood

terrified against the door; they offered him no personal violence, and returned in high glee to their more innocent amusement of drawing the Speaker."

The names of those who opposed the measure on this occasion were printed in red, and circulated through the country, with the following title:--

"The list of our glorious and victorious defenders, that every man may engrave their names and their services on his heart, and hand them down to his children's children.

Lord Charlemont, in a letter to Dr. Haliday, of Belfast, on the 25th of January, 1799, mentioned that the division in the House of Commons had been taken at seven o'clock on that morning. "Never yet," he wrote, "were the usual efforts of administration exerted more energetically to procure a majority. Any man might have had anything. But rewards and punishments were without effect."

Twenty-seven counties petitioned against the Union. The petition of the county of Down was signed by upwards of 17,000 respectable, independent men; and all the others in a similar proportion. Dublin petitioned under the great seal of the city, and each of the corporations in it followed the example. Drogheda petitioned against the Union, and almost every town in the kingdom in like manner testified its disapprobation. Those in favour of the measure, possessing great influence in the country, obtained a few counter-petitions; yet, though the petition from the county of Down was signed by 17,000, the counter-petition was signed only by 415. 707,000 persons signed petitions against the measure; the total number of those who declared themselves in favour of it did not exceed 3,000, and many of these only prayed that it might be discussed. "In fact," observed Mr Grey, in the English Parliament, "the Nation is nearly

unanimous, and this great majority is composed, not of fanatics, bigots, or Jacobins, but of the most respectable of every class of the community."

"A loud and universal outcry," said Peter Burrowes, "issues from every quarter of Ireland against this detested measure; the city of Dublin, the University, the counties—the property—the populacy, and talent of the Nation—all ranks and all religions are united in one grand and irresistible confederacy against it. The public sentiment can no longer be falsified—it forces itself upon the senses of every man who can see or hear. No man can stir out of the pale of the Castle—no man can travel through any quarter of Ireland, without reading it in the anxious conflict of passions and feelings depicted in every countenance he meets. These are solemn moral manifestations of the active sentiment of a Nation; these are awful warnings, which the benignity of Providence interposes between the rash projects of Ministers and the irretrievable mischief. May God avert the storm, and save the Nation."

Among the opponents of the Union were several who at great personal sacrifices maintained their incorruptibility. James Fitzgerald, the Prime Sergeant, and Sir John Parnell, Chancellor of the Exchequer, were among those first dismissed from office for opposing the measure. Francis Hardy, oppressed by penury, and in direct opposition to the advice of his friends, refused the most tempting proposals from the Minister. Charles Kendal Bushe, in necessitous circumstances, with a numerous family, and labouring to pay off heavy debts, declined all overtures from the Government. After the termination of an interview with the representative of the Minister, "I," said Bushe, "threw myself in my chair, and for a moment almost doubted whether it was right for me to keep in such a state so

many human beings, when I thought on the splendid offers I had refused,—offers that astonished, almost bewildered me.”

Frederick Falkner, member for Dublin County, was one of the most remarkable instances of inflexible public integrity in Ireland. “He would have been a valuable acquisition to the Government, but nothing could corrupt him. Week after week he was ineffectually tempted, through his friends, by a Peerage, or ought he might desire. He replied, ‘I am poor, ’tis true; but no human power, no reward, no torture, no elevation, shall ever tempt me to betray my country—never mention to me again so infamous a proposal.’”

The Minister experienced considerable difficulty in coming to terms with needy English and Scotch officials, who without social position or property had been placed in the House to vote for the Union.

“Such persons were determined to strike a hard bargain, and one of them (Mr. M’Donald) being urged by the Minister to support the measure, very coolly laid his hat across the bar of the House, and declared that he would not vote for the Union, or take away his hat, till five thousand guineas were secured to him. His terms were complied with, and an undertaking to that effect was given.”

After strenuous efforts had been made to fill places in the House of Commons by nominees of the Government, the Parliament was opened at Dublin on the 15th of January, 1800. Sir Lawrence Parsons, afterwards Earl of Rosse, moved an amendment to the Address to the Throne, expressive of the determination to support the free Constitution of Ireland, as established in 1782. This amendment was supported by James Fitzgerald, Parnell, Bushe, Hardy, Arthur Moore, Barrington, and Egan. They contended that the settlement of 1782 was



final; that the Parliament, instead of tending to separation, cemented the connexion between the two countries; that in 1782, when more than 80,000 Volunteers were in arms, and when England's sun seemed to have set, Ireland did not think of separation; that through Parliament the country had obtained the Octennial Bill, the Mutiny Bill, the repeal of Poyning's Law, the independence of the Judges, the restoration of the Appellant Jurisdiction, a Free Trade, and a Free Constitution. They charged the Government with resorting to improper artifices in procuring forged signatures to petitions, and in packing the Parliament with their dependents, to enable them to carry the measure while the people were under martial law, the Habeas Corpus Act suspended, and the country covered with an army greater than ever known there before. They also insisted on the incompetency of the Legislature to abolish itself, and dwelt on the necessity of meeting a packed Parliament before the packing was completed.

"I," said Bushe, "strip this formidable measure of all its pretences and its aggravations; I look at it nakedly and abstractedly, and I see nothing in it but one question—Will you give up your country?—For centuries has the British nation and Parliament kept you down, shackled your commerce, paralyzed your exertions, despised your character, and ridiculed your pretensions to any privileges, commercial or constitutional. She never conceded a point to you which she could avoid, or granted a favour which was not reluctantly distilled. They have been all wrung from her, like drops of her heart's blood, and you are not in possession of a single blessing except those which you derive from God, that has not been either purchased or extorted by the virtue of your own Parliament from the illiberality of England.—Is nothing understood of a House of Commons but

that it is an engine for raising money out of the pocket of the subject and throwing it into the coffers of the Crown? Take up any volume of your Statutes upon that table; you will find the municipal Acts of Parliament in the proportion of more than forty to one to the imperial. What has, within the memory of many men alive, changed the face of your land? What has covered a country of pasture with tillage? What has intersected an impassable country with roads? What has nearly connected by inland navigation the eastern channel with the western ocean? A resident Parliament. This is not theory—look at your Statutes and your Journals, and there is not one of those improvements which you cannot trace to some document of your own public spirit, now upon that table, and to no other source or cause under heaven. Can this be supplied in Westminster—could a Committee of this House make a road in Yorkshire? No,” added Bushe, “nothing can supply a resident Parliament, watching over national improvements, seizing opportunities, encouraging manufacture, commerce, science, education, and agriculture; applying instant remedy to instant mischief, mixing with the constituent body, catching the sentiment of the public mind, reflecting public opinion, acting upon its impulse, and regulating its excess.”

The Government party laboured to prove that the recent disturbances showed that a separation from England was possible, to avert which, they advocated the Union. They contended that in point of trade and revenue Ireland should be a gainer; that English capitalists would settle in the country, and that the taxes of the nation would be diminished.

Grattan, who had withdrawn from Ireland before the commencement of the commotions, was entreated by his friends to re-enter Parliament to aid them in opposing the Union.

Enfeebled in constitution, and mentally depressed at the results of the conduct of the Ministers, he resisted these applications; but at length yielded to the representations of his wife. "I urged him," said that lady, "most earnestly to take the seat; that he should not refuse; that it was his duty to go into Parliament; that he had got a great deal from the people; that they had given him a large sum of money in '82, for standing by them in time of need; and that it was his duty to do so now; and that he ought to spend his money, and shed his blood, in their defence."

Mr. Henry Tighe having arranged that Grattan should be returned for the borough of Wicklow, he was brought from Tinnehinch to Baggot-street, Dublin, to remain undisturbed till the Parliament assembled on the 15th of January.

"The Sheriff being friendly, he allowed the election to be held after twelve o'clock on the night of the 15th. Mr. Tighe got the officer to sign the return, and set off immediately, on horseback, with it. He arrived in Dublin about five in the morning, when he heard a loud knocking at the door. Mr. Grattan had been very ill, and was then in bed, and, turning round, he exclaimed:—'Oh, here they come; why will they not let me die in peace?' The question of Union had become dreadful to him; he could not bear the idea, or listen to the subject, or speak on it with any degree of patience; he grew quite wild, and it almost drove him frantic. I told him," continued his wife, "that he must get up immediately, and go down to the House: so we got him out of bed, and dressed him; I helped him down-stairs; then he went into the parlour, and loaded his pistols, and I saw him put them in his pocket, for he apprehended he might be attacked by the Union party, and assassinated. We wrapped a blanket round him, and put him in a sedan-chair, and when he

left the door, I stood there, uncertain whether I should ever see him again. Afterwards, Mr. M'Can came to me, and said that I need not be alarmed, as Mr. Grattan's friends had determined to come forward in case he was attacked, and, if necessary, take his place in the event of any personal quarrel. When I heard that, I thanked him for his kindness, but told him, my husband cannot die better than in defence of his country."

The debate in the House of Commons lasted through the entire night. John Egan had commenced to speak in opposition to the Union at seven in the morning, when William Brabazon Ponsonby, with Arthur Moore, withdrew, and immediately returned, supporting Grattan, who was so debilitated as to be scarcely able to walk.

"The House and the galleries were seized with breathless emotion; and a thrilling sensation, a low murmur, pervaded the whole assembly, when they beheld a thin, weak, and emaciated figure, worn down by sickness of mind and body, scarcely able to sustain himself; the man who had been the founder of Ireland's independence in 1782 was now coming forward, feeble, helpless, and apparently almost in his last moments, to defend or to fall with his country. His friends crowded round him, anxious to assist him,—Bowes Daly, in particular, seeing that Mr. Grattan had on his hat, he told him it was contrary to the rules of the House. Mr. Grattan calmly replied, 'Do not mind me, I know what to do.' He was dressed in the Volunteer uniform, blue, with red cuffs and collar. He had placed his cocked hat square to the front, and kept it on till he advanced half way up the floor; he then stopped and looked round the House with a steady and fearless eye, as if he wished to let them know that, though exhausted, he was yet prepared to give battle, and to bid them defiance; as an old soldier, he was resolved to show front,

and let his opponents see that he was not to be trifled with. He knew that he would be pressed, and very soon attacked; and he thought it best to come forward at the outset. When he approached near the table, he then took off his hat; and the oaths having been administered, he took his seat on the second bench, beside Mr. Plunket."

Egan having resumed and concluded his speech, Grattan, "almost breathless, as if by instinct, attempted to rise, but was unable to stand—he paused, and with difficulty requested permission of the House to deliver his sentiments without moving from his seat. This was acceded to by acclamation, and he who had left his bed of sickness to record, as he thought, his last words in the Parliament of his country, kindled gradually till his language glowed with an energy and feeling which he had seldom surpassed." He maintained that the adjustment with England in 1782 was agreed to as establishing finally the free and independent existence of the Parliament of Ireland, and to preserve for ever the unity of the Empire; that members sitting in England, withdrawn from the opinion and sympathy of their constituents, might sacrifice the interest of the people; that the proposed Parliamentary Constitution was open to numerous serious objections; that the Union would entail an increased absentee drain; and that the promises of reduced taxation and an influx of English capitalists were delusive.

"Imagination," said Grattan, "is the region in which the Minister delights to disport; where he is to take away your Parliament, where he is to take away your final judicature, where he is to take away your money, where he is to increase your taxes, where he is to get an Irish tribute—there he is a plain, direct, matter-of-fact man; but where he is to pay you for all this, there he is poetic and prophetic; no longer a financier, but

an inspired accountant. Fancy gives him her wand, Amalthea takes him by the hand; Ceres is in her train.—I do not mean to approve of all the Parliaments that have sat in Ireland: I left the former Parliament because I condemned its proceedings; but I argue not, like the Minister, from the misconduct of one Parliament against the being of Parliament itself. I value that Parliamentary Constitution by the average of its benefits; and I affirm that the blessings procured by the Irish Parliament in the last twenty years are greater than all the blessings afforded by British Parliaments to Ireland for the last century; greater even than the mischiefs inflicted on Ireland by British Parliaments; greater than all the blessings procured by those Parliaments for their own country within that period; within that time the legislators of England lost an Empire, and the Legislature of Ireland recovered a Constitution.”

After nearly two hours of powerful argument, Grattan concluded as follows, with an undiminished vigour, apparently miraculous to those who were unacquainted with his powers:—

“The thing the Minister proposes to buy is what cannot be sold—Liberty! For it, he has nothing to give. Everything of value which you possess you obtained under a free Constitution. Part with it, and you must be not only a slave, but an idiot. His propositions not only go to your dishonour, but they are built upon nothing else. He tells you—it is his main argument—that you are unfit to exercise a free Constitution; and he affects to prove it by the experiment. Your exports since your emancipation, and under that Parliamentary Constitution, and in a great measure by that Parliamentary Constitution, have nearly doubled; commercially it has worked well. Your concord with England since the Emancipation, as far as it relates to Parliament on the subject of war, has not only improved, but has been productive;

imperially, therefore, it has worked well. What, then, does the Minister, in fact, object to? That you have supported him—that you have concurred in his system; therefore he proposes to the people to abolish the Parliament, and to continue the Minister. He does more: he proposes to you to substitute the British Parliament in your place; to destroy the body that restored your liberties, and restore that body which destroyed them. Against such a proposition, were I expiring on the floor, I should beg to utter my last breath, and record my dying testimony.”

At the conclusion of Grattan's speech the question was loudly called for. “Lord Castlereagh was perceived earnestly to whisper Mr. Corry—they for an instant looked round the House—whispered again—Mr. Corry nodded assent, and, amidst the cries of Question, he began a speech, which, as far as it regarded Mr. Grattan, few persons in the House could have prevailed on themselves to utter.”

After a debate of eighteen hours, the House divided at 10 in the morning on the amendment proposed by the Anti-Unionists to the Address—“To maintain the independence of the Irish Parliament as settled in 1782.” The result of the division was:—For the Amendment, 96; against, 138. Majority for Government, 42.

“Lord Castlereagh's first object was,” we are told, “to introduce into the House, by means of the Place Bill, a sufficient number of dependents to balance all opposition. He then boldly announced his intention to turn the scale by bribes to all who would accept them, under the name of ‘compensation’ for the loss of patronage and interest. He publicly declared, first, that every nobleman who returned members to Parliament should be paid in cash £15,000 for every member so returned; secondly, that every member who had purchased a seat in Parliament should

have his purchase-money repaid to him by the Treasury of Ireland; thirdly, that all members of Parliament, or others, who were losers by a Union, should be fully recompensed for their losses, and that £1,500,000 should be devoted to this service: in other terms, all who supported his measure were, under some pretence or other, to share in this bank of corruption. A declaration so flagitious and treasonable was never publicly made in any country; but it had a powerful effect in his favour; and before the meeting of Parliament he had secured a small majority of eight above a moiety of the members, and he courageously persisted."

Among the payments made on this account were the following:—

Lord Shannon received for his patronage in the Commons, . . . . .	£45,000
The Marquis of Ely, . . . . .	45,000
Lord Clanmorris, besides a Peerage, . . . .	23,000
Lord Belvedere, besides his douceur, . . . .	15,000
Sir Hercules Langrishe, . . . . .	15,000

For his acts in opposition to the Union at this juncture, Lord Downshire was dismissed from the Coloneley of the Down Militia and the governorship of that county; his name was also struck off the Privy Council.

To counteract the Government movements, subscriptions for the purchase of seats to resist the Union were entered into by the chief members of the Opposition, who were said to have contributed for this purpose upwards of £100,000. The irritation and ferment of the people against the measure had increased to such an extent, that the members under ministerial control became apprehensive of their own safety, and importuned Lord



Cornwallis to press the English Cabinet to send over reinforcements of troops for their protection.

Writing on the 4th of February, 1800, Cornwallis, the Lord Lieutenant, observed:—"The indefatigable exertions, aided by the subscriptions of the anti-Unionists, have raised a powerful clamour against the measure in many parts of the kingdom, and have put the capital [Dublin] quite in an uproar; and, I am sorry to say, some of our unwilling supporters in Parliament have taken advantage of these appearances to decline giving any further support. God only knows how the business will terminate; but it is so hard to struggle against private interests, and the pride and prejudices of a nation, that I shall never feel confident of success until the Union is actually carried.

Another debate took place on February 5, when the members present amounted to the unusually large number of 278.

"The question," said Grattan, "is not now such as occupied you of old, not old Poynings, not speculation, not plunder, not an Embargo, not a Catholic Bill, not a Reform Bill,—it is your being, it is more—it is your life to come;—whether you will go, with the Castle at your head, to the tomb of Charlemont and the Volunteers, and erase his epitaph; or whether your children shall go to your graves, saying, 'A venal military court attacked the liberties of the Irish, and here lie the bones of the honourable dead men who saved their country'—such an epitaph is a nobility the King cannot give his slaves; it is a glory which the Crown cannot give the King."

The debate, which was carried on with energy, lasted through the night, and the division took place at 1 p.m. on the following day. "It appeared that the Anti-Unionists had gained ground since the former session, and that there existed

115 members of the Irish Parliament whom neither promotion, nor office, nor fear, nor reward, nor ambition, could procure to vote against the independence of their country. Lord Castlereagh's motion was artful in the extreme—he did not move expressly for any adoption of the propositions, but that they should be printed and circulated, with a view to their ultimate adoption. This was opposed as a virtual acceptance of the subject; on that point the issue was joined. The division was:—

Number of members . . . . .	300
For Lord Castlereagh's motion . . . . .	158
Against it . . . . .	115
Of members present, majority . . . . .	43
Absent . . . . .	27

“By this division it appears that the Government had a majority in the House of only eight by their utmost efforts. Twenty-seven were absent, of whom every man refused to vote for a Union, but did not vote at all, being kept away by different causes; and, of consequence, eight above a moiety carried the Union.”

Some of the obnoxious members, on their return home from this debate, were assaulted by an excited mob, who endeavoured to throw their carriages into the river. In consequence of this disturbance Governmental orders were given for having the streets of Dublin patrolled by detachments of cavalry.

On the 10th of February, a debate preliminary to entering on consideration of the Articles of Union took place in the House of Peers, which was filled by an unusually numerous audience.

Lord Chancellor Clare on this occasion exerted himself to the

utmost, speaking for four hours in favour of the Union. In his advocacy of it he was supported by eight Peers, under Governmental influence, and opposed by the Marquis of Downshire, Lords Charlemont, Dillon, Farnham, Powerscourt, and Sunderlin. At half-past three in the morning the principle in favour of a Union was carried in the House of Peers by a majority of 49, the numbers being—

In the House, 53 for; Proxies 22 . . . . .	75
In the House, 19 against; Proxies 7 . . . . .	26
Majority . . . . .	<u>49</u>

By a despatch dated February 12, 1800, the Duke of Portland assured Lord Cornwallis of the fullest Government support in carrying through the measure of the Union. He authorized him to declare that no disappointment would ever induce the King or his servants in London to recede from or to suspend their endeavours; but that it was their fixed and unalterable determination to direct, session after session, the proposition of Union to be renewed to Parliament until it should be adopted.

On the 14th of February, the Commons went into Committee upon the Union. The debate was opened by Isaac Corry, appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer in the place of Sir John Parnell, who had been dismissed from office for opposing the Union. Corry, on this occasion, renewed his personal attack on Grattan, who replied in an invective, the character of which is exhibited by the following passages:—

“Has the gentleman done? Has he completely done. He was unparliamentary from the beginning to the end of his speech. There was scarce a word he uttered that was not a violation of the privileges of the House; but I did not call him to order—why? because the limited talents of some men render it impossible

for them to be severe without being unparliamentary; but before I sit down, I shall show him how to be severe and parliamentary at the same time. On any other occasion I should think myself justifiable in treating with silent contempt anything which might fall from that honourable member; but there are times when the insignificance of the accuser is lost in the magnitude of the accusation. I know the difficulty the honourable gentleman laboured under when he attacked me, conscious that, on a comparative view of our characters, public and private, there is nothing he could say which would injure me. The public would not believe the charge. I despise the falsehood. If such a charge were made by an honest man, I would answer it in the manner I shall do before I sit down—but I shall first reply to it, when not made by an honest man. The right hon. gentleman has called me 'an unimpeached traitor.' I ask, why not 'traitor' unqualified by any epithet? I will tell him—it was because he dare not. It was the act of a coward, who raises his arm to strike, but has not courage to give the blow. I will not call him villain, because it would be unparliamentary, and he is a Privy Councillor. I will not call him fool, because he happens to be Chancellor of the Exchequer; but I say that he is one who has abused the privilege of Parliament and freedom of debate, to the uttering language which, if spoken out of the House, I should answer only with a blow. I care not how high his situation, how low his character, how contemptible his speech; whether a Privy Councillor or a parasite, my answer would be—a blow. He has charged me with being connected with the rebels. The charge is utterly, totally, and meanly false. The right honourable member has told me I deserted a profession where wealth and station were the reward of industry and talent. If I mistake not, that gentleman endeavoured to obtain these rewards by the same means,

but he soon deserted the occupation of a barrister for those of a parasite and pander. He fled from the labour of study to flatter at the table of the great. He found the Lords' parlour a better sphere for his exertions than the hall of the Four Courts; the house of a great man a more convenient way to power and to place, and that it was easier for a statesman of middling talents to sell his friends than for a lawyer of no talents to sell his clients.

"At the emancipation of Ireland in 1782, I took a leading part in the foundation of that Constitution which is now endeavoured to be destroyed. Of that Constitution I was the author; in that Constitution I glory; and for it the honourable gentleman should bestow praise, not invent calumny. Notwithstanding my weak state of body, I come to give my last testimony against this Union, so fatal to the liberties and interest of my country. I come to make common cause with these honourable and virtuous gentlemen around me to try and save the Constitution, at least to save our characters, and remove from our graves the foul disgrace of standing apart while a deadly blow is aimed at the independence of our country.

"The right honourable gentleman says I fled from the country after exciting rebellion; and that I have returned to raise another. No such thing. The charge is false. The civil war had not commenced when I left the kingdom, and I could not have returned without taking a part. On the one side there was the camp of the rebel; on the other the camp of the Minister, a greater traitor than that rebel. The stronghold of the Constitution was nowhere to be found. Two desperate parties were in arms against the Constitution. I could not join the rebel—I could not join the Government—I could not join torture—I could not join half-hanging—I could not join free quarter—I

could take part with neither. I was therefore absent from a scene where I could not be active without self-reproach, nor indifferent with safety. I have returned, not as the right honourable member has said, to raise another storm—I have returned to discharge an honourable debt of gratitude to my country, that conferred a great reward for past services, which, I am proud to say, was not greater than my desert. I have returned to protect that Constitution, of which I was the parent and the founder, from the assassination of such men as the right honourable gentleman and his unworthy associates. They are corrupt—they are seditious—and they at this very moment are in a conspiracy against their country. I have returned to refute a libel as false as it is malicious, given to the public under the appellation of a Report of the Committee of the Lords. Here I stand ready for impeachment or trial. I dare accusation. I defy the honourable gentleman. I defy the Government. I defy the whole phalanx; let them come forth. I tell the Ministers I will neither give them quarter nor take it. I am here to lay the shattered remains of my constitution on the floor of this House in defence of the liberties of my country.”

Of the result of this invective Grattan has left the following account:—

“When I had finished, I left the House. Bowes Daly said to me, ‘Go out of the House immediately, or something may occur to prevent you.’ I remained in the Speaker’s chamber and about the House till daylight. James Blackwood [Lord Dufferin] offered to be my second; but I told [Lord] Hutchinson to procure a second, and he got my friend, Metge—a very good one, who brought my pistols to me, as I feared to go home lest I should be arrested. General Craddock came with a challenge, but hoped for an accommodation. I replied—impossible. We

went to Ball's Bridge: on the ground the people cheered me. I had my pistol in one hand, and my hat in the other. The sheriff approached. We ran from thence, and, when ordered, we both fired. I hit Corry; he missed me: we were then ordered to fire a second time, but at the signal we reserved our shots: the seconds then made us give our honour to fire; we did so. I do not know whether Corry fired at me the second time. I did not take aim at him the first shot. I could have killed him if I chose, but I fired along the line. I had no enmity to him. I had gotten a victory, and knew it could not be more complete if he was killed, and that it would if I did not fire at him. It was, however, dangerous not to do so, for he might have killed me, but I thought it much better to run the risk, and fire in the air. I then went up to him; he was bleeding. He gave me his bloody hand: we had formerly been friends, but Corry was set on to do what he did: a plan had been formed to make personal attacks on the Opposition, and their men had been singled out."

Undaunted by repeated defeats, the Opposition, consisting of 120 members, many of whom were of the first weight and talents in the country, continued united and steady to their principles, adopting every mode to retard the progress of the proceedings for Union.

The Speaker counted the House every day exactly at 4, before which all the anti-Unionists withdrew, and would not consent that any man should stir to call in members from the lobby or porch.

"Our friends," wrote Castlereagh, "have submitted to the severest attendance ever known in the history of Parliament with unexampled patience. We have given ourselves no rest or relaxation whatever. Our sittings have never broken up earlier than 12

at night, and have frequently lasted till 12 in the day. Many of our friends are really confined on account of illness contracted by attendance."

Lord Castlereagh earnestly urged on the Treasury at London the pressing necessity for continuous remittances of funds to enable him and the Viceroy to "fulfil the expectations which it was impossible to avoid creating in the moment of difficulty." Castlereagh added, "I hope we shall be able to keep our friends true. A few votes might have a very injurious effect."

Among the opponents of the Union was Richard Lovell Edgeworth, who sat as member for the borough of St. John's-town. Writing on March 31, 1800, to Dr. Darwin, Edgeworth observed: "It is intended to force this measure down the throats of the Irish, though five-sixths of the nation are against it. The Minister avows that seventy-two boroughs are to be compensated, *i.e.*, to be bought by the people of Ireland with one million and a half of their own money, and he makes this legal by a small majority, made up chiefly of these very borough members. When thirty-eight county members out of sixty-four are against the measure, and twenty-eight counties out of thirty-two have petitioned against it, this is such abominable corruption that it makes our Parliamentary sanction worse than ridiculous. I had a charming opportunity," added Edgeworth, "of advancing myself and my family, but I did not think it wise to *quarrel with myself*, and lose my own good opinion at my time of life. What *did* lie in my way for my vote, I will not say; but I stated in my place in the House that I had been offered three thousand guineas for my seat during the few remaining weeks of the session."

Maria Edgeworth tells us that her father's speeches in Parliament against the Union made a considerable sensation in the



House. She averred that she knew that temptations were held out to him in every possible form in which they could flatter personal ambition or family interest. He had offers of all that could serve or oblige his dearest friends, and choice of situations, in which he might, as it was said, gratify his peculiar tastes, serve his country, and accomplish his favourite object of improving the condition of the people. Edgeworth, however, conscientiously opposed the Union, and subsequently referred his children to the reports of his speeches in Parliament against the measure. Although incorrectly printed, "they are," said he, "sufficient to enable them to decide upon the consistency of my conduct, which has, I hope, never deviated from what appeared to me to be right and honourable."

Parliamentary traffic was carried to such an extent that in a very short period not less than sixty-three members vacated their seats by accepting the Escheatorship of Munster, a nominal office similar to the Stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds, and their places were immediately filled by dependants of the Minister; while the Government, by the Insurrection and Rebellion Bills, deposed the civil tribunals, and placed the entire country under military law.

Lord Grey, in the English Parliament, stated that "if the Parliament of Ireland was left to itself, untempted, unawed, unintimidated, it would, without hesitation, have rejected the resolutions. There are," he continued, "three hundred members in all, and one hundred and twenty of those strenuously opposed the measure, amongst whom were two-thirds of the county members, the representatives of the city of Dublin, and almost all the towns which it is proposed should send members to the Imperial Parliament: one-hundred and sixty-two voted in favour of the Union: of these, one hundred and sixteen were placemen;

some were English generals on the staff, without a foot of ground in Ireland, and completely dependent upon Government. Let us," added his Lordship, "reflect upon the arts which have been used since the last session of the Irish Parliament to pack a majority in the House of Commons. All persons holding offices under Government, even the most intimate friends of the Minister, if they hesitated to vote as directed, were stripped of all their employments. Even this step," said Lord Grey, "was found ineffectual, and other arts were had recourse to, which, though I cannot name them in this place, all will easily conjecture."

The entire of the Union resolutions passed the Commons on March 24, 1800, and were carried by Lord Castlereagh to the Peers, who approved of them after a short discussion, the votes being 72 to 22. "The nearer the great event approaches," wrote Lord Cornwallis in April, 1800, "the more are the needy and interested senators alarmed at the effects it may possibly have on their interests and the provision for their families, and I believe that half of our [Government] majority would be as much delighted as any of our opponents if the measure could be defeated."

Lord Castlereagh's motion to bring in the Union Bill on May 21 was carried by 160 to 100; and when he moved that the House should depute certain members to wait on the Viceroy with the address in favour of the Union, Mr. O'Donnell proposed as an amendment that it should be brought up by the generals, staff-members, officers, placemen, and pensioners, numbering seventy-two members of the Parliament.

On the second reading of the Union Bill on May 26, 1800, the arguments used to influence the country in favour of the Union were commented upon in detail by Grattan, who, after having analysed various sections of the proposed bill, observed:—"The Minister proceeds to ask himself a ques-

tion extremely natural after such reasoning—What security has Ireland? He answers with great candour—Honour—English honour. Now, when the liberty and security of one country depend on the honour of another, the latter may have much honour, but the former no liberty. To depend on the honour of another country is to depend on the will; and to depend on the will of another country is the definition of slavery.” Having appealed to the petitions of twenty-one counties publicly convened, to the memorials of other counties numerously signed, and to those of the great towns and cities all against the Union, Grattan continued:—

“To affirm that the judgment of a nation is erroneous, may mortify; but to affirm that her judgment *against* is *for*; to assert that she has said *aye* when she has pronounced *no*; to affect to refer a great question to the people, finding the sense of the people, like that of the Parliament, against the question; to force the question; to affirm the sense of the people to be *for* the question; to affirm that the question is persisted in, because the sense of the people is for it; to make the falsification of her sentiments the foundation of her ruin, and the ground of the Union; to affirm that her Parliament, Constitution, liberty, honour, property, are taken away by her own authority: there is, in such artifice, an effrontery, a hardihood, an insensibility, that can best be answered by sensations of astonishment and disgust, excited on this occasion by the British Minister, whether he speaks in gross and total ignorance of the truth, or in shameless and supreme contempt for it.”

Grattan concluded as follows this, his last, speech in the Parliament of Ireland:—

“The Constitution may be for a time so lost; the character of the country cannot be so lost; the Ministers of the Crown will,

or may, perhaps, at length find that it is not so easy to put down for ever an ancient and respectable nation by abilities, however great, and by power and by corruption, however irresistible. Liberty may repair her golden beams, and with redoubled heat animate the country; the cry of loyalty will not long continue against the principles of liberty; loyalty is a noble, a judicious, and a capacious principle; but in these countries loyalty, distinct from liberty, is corruption, not loyalty.

“The cry of the connexion will not, in the end, avail against the principles of liberty. Connexion is a wise and a profound policy; but connexion without an Irish Parliament is connexion without its own principle, without analogy of condition, without the pride of honour that should attend it, is innovation, is peril, is subjugation—not connexion. The cry of disaffection will not, in the end, avail against the principle of liberty. Identification is a solid and Imperial maxim, necessary for the preservation of freedom, necessary for that of empire; but, without union of hearts, with a separate Government, and without a separate Parliament, identification is extinction, is dishonour, is conquest—not identification.

“Yet I do not give up the country—I see her in a swoon, but she is not dead—though in her tomb she lies helpless and motionless, still, there is on her lips a spirit of life, and on her cheek a glow of beauty—

“‘Thou art not conquered: beauty’s ensign yet  
Is crimson in thy lips, and in thy cheeks.  
And death’s pale flag is not advanced there.’

“While a plank of the vessel sticks together, I will not leave her—let the courtier present his flimsy sail, and carry the light bark of his faith with every new breath of wind—I will remain

anchored here—with fidelity to the fortunes of my country, faithful to her freedom, faithful to her fall.”

The House having divided on the question that the bill be committed, the result was: Ayes 118, Noes 73—majority 45. On the 6th of June, the report from the Committee was read, and carried by 153 to 88. “Finding all now useless, we retired,” said Grattan, “with safe consciences, but with breaking hearts.”

When it was moved that the bill be engrossed, Mr. O'Donnell, seconded by Mr. Tighe, proposed that it should be burned. The Act was finally read and passed in the House of Commons at 10 p.m. on Saturday, the 7th of June, 1800, under circumstances described as follows by Sir Jonah Barrington:—

“The Houses of Parliament were closely invested by the military—no demonstration of popular feeling was permitted—a British regiment, near the entrance, patrolled through the Ionic colonnades.

“The situation of the Speaker [Foster], on that night, was of the most distressing nature; a sincere and ardent enemy of the measure, he headed its opponents; he resisted it with all the power of his mind, the resources of his experience, his influence, and his eloquence. It was, however, through his voice that it was to be proclaimed and consummated. His only alternative—resignation—would have been unavailing, and could have added nothing to his character. His expressive countenance bespoke the inquietude of his feelings; solicitude was perceptible in every glance, and his embarrassment was obvious in every word he uttered. The galleries were full, but the change was lamentable; they were no longer crowded with those who had been accustomed to witness the eloquence and to animate the debates of that devoted assembly.



JOHN FOSTER, SPEAKER.

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“A monotonous and melancholy murmur ran through the benches—scarcely a word was exchanged amongst the members—nobody seemed at ease—no cheerfulness was apparent—and the ordinary business, for a short time, proceeded in the usual manner. At length the expected moment arrived—the order of the day for the third reading of the Bill—for a ‘Legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland,’ was moved by Lord Castlereagh; unvaried, tame, cold-blooded, the words seemed frozen as they issued from his lips; and, as if a simple citizen of the world, he seemed to have no sensation on the subject. He made his motion, and resumed his seat, with the utmost composure and indifference. Confused murmurs again ran through the House—it was visibly affected, every character, in a moment, seemed involuntarily rushing to its index;—some pale, some flushed, some agitated; there were few countenances to which the heart did not despatch some messenger.

“Several members [including Plunket, and about two-thirds of the Opposition] withdrew before the question could be repeated, and an awful momentary silence succeeded their departure. The Speaker rose slowly from that chair which had been the proud source of his honours and of his high character: for a moment he resumed his seat, but the strength of his mind sustained him in his duty, though his struggle was apparent. With that dignity which never failed to signalize his official actions, he held up the bill, for a moment in silence; he looked steadily around him on the last agony of the expiring Parliament. He at length repeated, in an emphatic tone, ‘As many as are of opinion that this bill do pass, say Aye.’ The affirmative was languid, but indisputable—another momentary pause ensued—again his lips seemed to decline their office: at length, with an eye averted from the



object which he hated, he proclaimed, with a subdued voice, 'The Ayes have it.' The fatal sentence was now pronounced—for an instant he stood statue-like; then, indignantly, and with disgust, flung the bill upon the table, and sank into his chair, with an exhausted spirit."

The bill was brought to the House of Lords on the 11th of June, and committed on the 12th by a majority of 76 to 17.

A minority of the House of Peers protested formally against the Union on the 10th of February and 26th of March, 1800.

Their final protest, in eleven sections, dated the 13th of the ensuing June, concluded as follows:—

"Because the argument made use of in favour of the Union, namely, that the sense of the people of Ireland is in its favour, we know to be untrue, and, as the Ministers have declared that they would not press the measure against the sense of the people, and as the people have pronounced decidedly, and under all difficulties, their judgment against it,—we have, together with the sense of the country, the authority of the Minister to enter our protest against the project of Union; against the yoke which it imposes; the dishonour which it inflicts; the disqualification passed upon the Peerage; the stigma thereby branded on the realm; the disproportionate principle of expense it introduces; the means employed to effect it; the discontents it has excited, and must continue to excite.

"Against all these, and the fatal consequences they may produce—we have endeavoured to interpose our votes; and, failing, we transmit to after-times our names in solemn protest in behalf of the Parliamentary Constitution of this realm, the liberty which it secured, the trade which it protected, the connexion which it preserved, and the Constitution which it supplied and fortified.

"This we feel ourselves called upon to do, in support of our

characters, our honour, and whatever is left to us worthy to be transmitted to our posterity.

“Leinster, Arran, Mountcashel, Farnham, Belmore, Massy, Strangford, Granard, Ludlow, Moira, William [Dickson], Bishop of Down and Connor Richard [Marlay], Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, Powerscourt, De Vesci, Charlemont, Kingston, Riversdale, Meath, Lismore, Sunderlin.”

On the first of August, 1800, the royal assent was given by the Viceroy to the Act for the Union of Great Britain and Ireland and other acts, with the ceremonial officially recorded as follows:—

“His Excellency Charles Marquis Cornwallis, Lord Lieutenant General and General Governor of Ireland, being arrayed in royal robes, entered the House with the usual ceremonies of grandeur, the Earl of Ormonde and Ossory carrying the cap of maintenance, and the Earl of Athlone the sword of state, two noblemen’s sons bearing the train of the royal robe. His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, making his congé to the throne, ascended the same, and seated himself in the chair of state under the canopy; all the Lords, spiritual and temporal, standing robed in their places, uncovered, till their Lordships took their seats.

“The Lord Chancellor [Clare], kneeling, conferred with his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, and then, standing on the right hand of the chair of state, commanded the yeoman usher of the Black Rod to repair to the House of Commons and acquaint the Commons that it is his Excellency’s the Lord Lieutenant’s pleasure they attend him immediately in this House. And the Commons, with their Speaker, being come, were conducted to the bar with the usual ceremonies, where Mr. Speaker delivered the money bills to the deputy clerk of the Parliaments, who brought them to the table, where the deputy clerk of the crown read the titles of those and the other bills to be passed severally.

“The royal assent to the Act of Union and the other acts was pronounced by the Deputy Clerk of the Parliaments, after which ‘his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant was pleased to withdraw, and was attended as he entered, and the Commons returned to their House.’”

The last meeting of Parliament at Dublin was on the second of August, 1800, when the temporal Lords chose twenty-eight of their members to represent the peerage of Ireland in the Parliament of the United Kingdom. Lord Cornwallis delivered a speech from the throne, and the prorogation of the Parliament was announced.

“The ablest lawyers of Ireland, Ponsonby, Plunket, Ball, Bushe, Curran, Burrowes, Fitzgerald, Arthur Moore, and others, maintained that the Act of Union was a nullity, void *ab initio*; that the “transaction, though fortified by seven-fold form, was radically fraudulent; that all the forms and solemnities of law were but so many badges of the fraud, and that posterity, like a great court of conscience, would pronounce its judgment.”

William Saurin, afterwards Attorney-General of Ireland, declared that resistance to the Union would be a struggle against usurpation, and not resistance against law. “You,” he added, “may make the Union binding as a law, but you cannot make it obligatory on conscience—it will be obeyed as long as England is strong, but resistance to it will be, in the abstract, a duty, and the exhibition of that resistance will be a mere question of prudence.”

“I know,” said Thomas Goold, “the Ministers must succeed; but I will not go away with an aching heart, because I know that the liberties of the people must ultimately triumph. The people must at present submit, because they cannot resist 120,000 armed men. But the period will occur when, as in 1782, England may

be weak, and Ireland sufficiently strong to recover her lost liberties."

Of 278 sitting members, the minority against the Union numbered 120; while of those who voted in its favour, but seven are said to have been uninfluenced by pecuniary considerations. The amount expended by Government to procure a majority has been stated at £3,000,000, exclusive of twenty-nine new creations, and twenty promotions in the Irish Peerage, together with English Peerages conferred on six noblemen "on account of Irish services" at this juncture. In addition to the foregoing, the sum of one million two hundred and sixty thousand pounds was expended under the bill authorizing compensation for disfranchised boroughs, the total number of which was 84. £15,000, the sum allotted for each borough, was apportioned among the various patrons, according to their individual interests. The largest sums paid for boroughs were, £52,000 to Lord Downshire, who had seven seats, and £45,000 to Lord Ely for six seats. The other borough proprietors owning more than two seats were the Duke of Devonshire, Lords Ely, Shannon, Granard, Belmore, Clifden, and Abercorn, Mr. Tighe, and Mr. Bruen, each of whom had four seats. "This does not," it has been observed, "give a complete idea of the Parliamentary weight of the great borough proprietors. Besides the seats for which they received compensation, many of them had influence in places which were still to return one member; and as one seat in the Imperial Parliament was considered quite equal to two in the Irish, no compensation was allowed. Thus Lord Ely had one seat in Wexford; Lord Shannon, one at Youghal; the Duke of Devonshire, one at Bandon and one at Dungarvan; and Lord Abercorn one, if not both, at Dungannon. Many of the counties also were almost entirely in the hands of certain great families,

whose nominations were scarcely ever disputed. A few boroughs, nominally open, were practically close; and some three or four families had, by intermarriages, acquired a power which rendered them most formidable to any Government. The Ponsonbys, for example, exercised influence, direct or indirect, over twenty-two seats; Lord Downshire and the Beresfords, respectively, over nearly as many. Nor was this all: the great borough-mongers constantly bought from other persons seats, for which they returned their own adherents. Lord Longueville claimed Cork and Mallow, and six other seats, as his own: Lords Shannon and Ely were in a similar position."

About the same period, of the 558 members of the British Parliament, 354 sat under Borough, Treasury, and other influence, leaving England and Scotland but 204 representatives not corruptly returned.

During the brief period of partial autonomy, much was effected for Ireland through Parliament, notwithstanding its defects and infelicitous surroundings. "Ireland removed the restraints that for centuries before had been imposed on her commerce and her Constitution; she repealed Poyning's law; she insisted on the repeal of the 6th of George I.; she obtained Free-Trade, and an independent Constitution; she restored the final judicature to her Lords; she established the independence of her Judges; she secured to the country the benefits of the Habeas Corpus Act; she purified the elective franchise; she repealed the perpetual Mutiny Bill, and placed on record the resolve, that a standing army in time of peace, without the consent of Parliament, was contrary to law. All these acquisitions she obtained in 1782 by means of her Parliament, freed from foreign control and influenced by Irish feelings and Irish counsels. Subsequently, after a severe struggle against a corrupt Court, she obtained a Navigation Act,

a Pension Bill, a Place Bill, a Responsibility Bill. She diffused the spirit of religious liberty, and emancipated in a degree the minds of her people. She repealed numerous penal laws, gave to Roman Catholics property and power; and accompanied the possession of land with the right of the elective franchise. She opened to them the Bar and the Assistant Barristers' Bench; and if she had not been thwarted by British influence, she would have given to them full and complete Emancipation, and placed, in every respect, the Roman Catholic on an equality with his Protestant fellow-countryman. England had rights and precedents of her own to follow. She could boast of a proud constitutional ancestry who traced their names, their descent, their glories, in hereditary succession to the great charters of their country, that they had thirty times confirmed. But no such advantages were possessed by Ireland; she had to create almost everything, and to create it out of chaos."

As compensation for the abolition of their appointments, pensions amounting in the aggregate to £32,006 14s. 1d. per annum were granted to the officials and servants connected with the Houses of Peers and Commons at Dublin, the respective amounts being based upon averages of the salaries and emoluments during the preceding three years.

Among these annuitants were the following:—

House of Lords—John Fitzgibbon, Earl of Clare, Lord Chancellor, Speaker, £3,978 3s. 4d.; John Bourke, Earl of Mayo, Chairman of the committees, £1,443 6s.; William Meeke, Clerk of the Parliaments, £2,795 16s.; Thomas Lindsay, Usher of the Black Rod, £964 9s. 9d.; Mrs. Albinia Taylor, keeper of the Parliament House, £877 18s. 9d.; Sir Chichester Fortescue, Ulster King-of-Arms, £290 19s. 5d.

House of Commons—Right Honourable John Foster, Speaker, £5,038 8s. 4d.; Sir George Fitzgerald Hill, Baronet, Clerk of the House, £2,265 13s. 9d.; James Corry, Clerk of the Journals and Records, £660.

After the Union, Government officials demanded the Speaker's mace from Foster. He, we are told, declined to surrender it, saying that "until the body which had entrusted the mace to his keeping demanded it, he would preserve it for them." This mace is now in the possession of Foster's descendant, Viscount Massereene.

Exhibitions of paintings were held in the Parliament House in 1802 and 1803, in the former of which John Comerford, the eminent miniature painter, exhibited for the first time. During the panic attendant on the movements of Robert Emmet, the Parliament House was used as a barrack. In the succeeding year a fire broke out beneath the front portico, injuring it so severely that it was found necessary to insert large pieces in several of the columns.

Thomas Elrington, D.D., proposed that Government should grant the vacant Parliament House to Trinity College, to be converted into lecture-halls. One of the obstacles raised to this suggestion was the probability of disturbances arising between the citizens and students in the passing of the latter between the two edifices, to obviate which the construction of a connecting subterranean tunnel was proposed. Ultimately the Parliament House was purchased by the Bank of Ireland for £40,000, subject to the ground rent of £240 per annum. An act of Parliament was passed in June, 1802, to enable the Lord High Treasurer or Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury of Ireland to sell, lease, convey, or dispose of the Parliament House in the city of Dublin, and all the premises and appurte-

nances thereunto belonging, to the Governor and Company of the Bank of Ireland.

The Bank Directors offered premiums for plans for the adaptation of the building to its new purposes, and the first prize of £300 was adjudged to Henry Aaron Baker, Master of the Dublin Society's architectural school.

The first stone of the new works, under the superintendence of Francis Johnston, was laid by the Lord Lieutenant, Earl Hardwicke, on March 8, 1804. The edifice was first opened as the Bank of Ireland on the 6th of June, 1808.

To connect the east and west ends with the centre, circular screen walls were erected with Ionic columns, supporting an entablature similar to that of the portico, with niches intervening. A considerable part of the internal buildings was removed, including the House of Commons and the Court of Requests, a portion of the latter now forming the Cash-office of the Bank.

The three figures on the southern front of the building were executed by Edward Smith, of Dublin, from designs by Flaxman.

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